

Some Points of Similarity

IN THE

Phonology of Welsh and Breton

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR ERLANGUNG DER DOKTORWÜRDE DER HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN
FAKULTÄT DER UNIVERSITÄT ZU FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

VORGELEGT VON

T. H. PARRY-WILLIAMS

aus Rhyd-ddü, Carnarvon.



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LIBRAIRIE ANCIENNE HONORÉ CHAMPION, ÉDITEUR
ÉDOUARD CHAMPION
5, QUAI MALAQUAIS (6^e)

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Referent: PROFESSOR Dr. THURNEYSEN.

LEBENS LAUF

Ich, Thomas Herbert Parry-Williams, wurde in Rhyd-ddu, Carnarvon, am 21 September 1887 geboren. Vom September 1899 bis Juli 1905 besuchte ich Portmadoc County School. Dann wurde ich an der University of Wales (Aberystwyth) immatrikuliert, an welcher ich im Jahre 1908 als B. A. graduierte. Dasselbst blieb ich noch ein Jahr. Von September 1909 bis Juni 1911 studierte ich am Jesus College, Oxford, an welchen ich als M. A. (Wales) und B. Litt. (Oxon.) graduierte. Im November 1911 bezog ich dann die Universität Freiburg i. Br. Dort studierte ich bis zum Frühjahr 1913. Ich hörte die Vorlesungen der folgenden Herren Professoren und Dozenten Brie, Kieckers, Kluge, Schulz und Thurneysen.

Es ist mir Bedürfniss an dieser Stelle dem Referenten Herrn Geh. Hofrat Professor Dr. Thurneysen meinen aufrichtigen Dank für die Förderung meiner Arbeit auszusprechen.



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PHONOLOGY OF WELSH AND BRETON

INTRODUCTION

In this paper an attempt has been made to classify, as far as was possible, the points of similarity in the phonological development of Welsh and Breton, as they appear in these languages since the time of the separation of the Bretons in the 5th.-7th. centuries¹. The majority of the various changes naturally comprises those of the Middle and Modern periods of both languages. The written documentary remains of the earlier period (8th.-9th. centuries) of Welsh, Cornish and Breton possess so close a resemblance to each other as to lead at first to the supposition that they belonged to one branch only, until Bradshaw pointed out the criteria by which they could be distinguished².

Some of the phenomena here noted date from an earlier period (as, e. g., § 1), others appearing for the first time later in continuous texts and in isolated words from the Breton Charters. Most of the peculiarities of phonology to which reference is made, date, however, from the middle and later periods. In some cases both languages in the middle period offer certain particular points of resemblance which disappeared later in the course of further development from one or both languages (as, e. g., § 9).

1. For a full discussion of the emigration of the Bretons to Brittany see Loth, *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique du V^e au VII^e siècle de notre ère*, Paris, 1883. See also Zimmer, *Auf welchem Weg kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 13-17.

2. For these see Loth, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

A noteworthy feature of both languages is the treatment of borrowed Romance words, and in this respect a comparatively wide field of investigation is afforded by the fact that both borrowed without restraint from their neighbours.

Numerous dialect peculiarities have been noted. For the Breton dialects, the various articles which have appeared from time to time in the volumes of the *Revue Celtique*, as well as the grammars of the Breton dialects, have been taken as authorities for the remarks made thereon in the paragraphs in which they occur. Various Welsh and Breton texts and dictionaries to which access could be found, have been perused, as will be noted from the list of abbreviations.

It has been deemed simpler to arrange the examples according to the nature of the peculiarity they illustrate, and not according to the date of their appearance or their place in the historical development of the languages.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. f. C. L. = *Archiv. für celtische Lexicographie.*

B. Cwsc. = *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsc* (ed. J. Morris Jones).

Br. = Breton; M. Br. = Middle Breton; O. Br. = Old Breton.

Br. Gl. = *Old Breton Glosses* (Stokes), Calcutta 1879.

Br. Gl. O. = *The Breton Glosses at Orleans* (Stokes), 1886.

C. Coch. Mss. = *The Cefn Coch Mss.* (Fisher).

Cym. Llên Cymr. = The publications of *Cymdeithas Llên Cymru.*

D. G. = *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Jones and Owen,

E. = English; M. E. = Middle English; O. E. = Old English; N. E. = New English.

E. E. P. = *Early English Pronunciation* (Alexander J. Ellis).

Fr. = French; O. Fr. = Old French.

I. Goch = *Gwaith Iolo Goch* (Charles Ashton).

Indg. Forsch. = *Indogermanische Forschungen.*

L. Ch. = Loth's *Chrestomathie bretonne*; *L. Ch.* = (M. Br. Chart.) = The Middle Breton Charters given in *L. Ch.*

L. Ch. (V.). = Vocabulary to *L. Ch.*

L. E. (H.). = *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne*, par V. Henri.

Le Gon. = Le Gonidec's, *Dictionnaire français-breton.*

L. G. C. = *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi.*

Le Clerc = *Grammaire bretonne du Dialecte de Tréguier*, par l'abbé Le Clerc.

Lib. Land. = *Liber Landavensis* (*The Book of Llandâv*).

M. Br. H. = *Middle Briton Hours* (Stokes).

Mab. = *The Mabinogion* (Rhÿs and Evans, Oxford).

M. A. = *The Myfyrian Archaiology of Wales*.

M. Br. (E.) = Ernault's *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen*, at the end of his edition of *Le Mystère de Sainte Barbe*.

Medd. Mydd. = *Meddygon Myddfai* (Welsh Mss. Society).

O. Ir. = Old Irish.

Ped. = Pedersen's *Keltische Grammatik* (vol. I); *Ped. II* = *id.* Vol. II.

R. C. = *Revue Celtique*.

R. B. H. = *The Red Book of Hergest* (Rhÿs and Evans).

Tr. = Troude's = *Nouveau dictionnaire français et breton*.

V. and Vann. = Vannes. *V. (Ch.)* and *Vann. (Ch.)* = Châlons, *Dictionnaire breton-français du diocèse de Vannes*.

Trég. = Tréguier.

W. = Welsh; *M. W.* = Mediæval *W.*; *O. W.* = Old Welsh; *N. W.* = North Wales; *S. W.* = South Wales;

W. S. = Wiliam Salesbury's *Welsh-English Dictionary*.

W. Llŷn. = *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* (J. C. Morrice).

VOWELS

1. — In W., both in native and in borrowed words, the initial consonantal groups *sp*, *st*, *sk*, developed, presumably in the M.W. period, a prothetic vowel, as was the case in late Latin and further in French and Italian. The rule in Welsh is the exception in Breton; in the former branch the vowel is invariably *y* (= *ə*), but the few examples in point in Breton show a variation. The supposed cases of this in Breton are O. Br. *esceilenn*¹ (gl. cortina), regarded as being cognate with Mod. Ir. *sgáil*, *sgáile*, ‘shadow’, where the prothetic vowel is *e*, and O. Br. *istomid*² (gl. trifocalium), cognate with W. *ystefaig*, where the vowel appears as *i*. It is remarkable that the language which first shows traces of it should drop it altogether, whereas the other, with no vestiges of it in its earliest forms, made such cases of prothesis its general rule.

In M. Br. there appears a word *ascolenn* ‘thistle’ (W. *ysgal-len*, Cornish *askellenn*, Vann. *oskalen*) which is regarded as being identical with O. Br. *scal* (gl. carduumque). This *a*, however, with the *a* in the Cornish word, seems to be a doubtful case.

Traces of the same tendency possibly appear in the variant forms of the M. Br. words *start* and *squeut* (Mod. Br. *stard*, *skeud*). In M. Br. (E.) there is an early form *estart*, but it is counted in the verse as one syllable; and the Vann. (Ch.) form of M. Br. *squeut* seems to be *esquet* or *hesquet*.

In Mod. W., when the accent falls on the third syllable

1. Berne Glosses.

2. In the O. Br. Charters, see *L. Ch.*, p. 112. It is suggested (*ibid.*, p. 525) that it is to be read *iscomid*, and a W. *esgemydd* is compared.

from the beginning of a word, the tendency is to drop the regular prothetic *y*, e. g. *sgrifennu* or *scrifennu* for *ysgrifennu* 'to write', *sgolhaig* for *ysgolhaig* 'a scholar'. In the Mod. W. dialects the tendency is to drop the *y* in all cases, except when it is accented, e. g. *ysgub* 'a broom, besom' but *sgubo* 'to brush with a besom', *ystum* 'form, pose' but *stumiau* 'grimaces', etc.

2. — Original *i* appears in Mod. W. as *y*, i. e. when unaffected by a following pre-historic *a*, in which case it becomes *e*. In Cornish and Br. it appears generally as *e* (Cornish having *y* in some cases). The O. Br. had however, forms in *i* where O. W. would also have *i*. There are also in O. Br. traces of *e* from *i* due to the feminine *â*-ending, the forms *uuin* (masc.) and *uuen* (fem.) being found side by side in the 9th. c. See *R. C.* 8 pp. 168 sqq.

The indecision with regard to the fate of early *i* is apparent in W. and Br., especially in the various dialects and in the loanwords of both languages. The O. W. *i* has many forms in M. W., *i*, *e*, *y* and *ÿ* (*i* and *e* being found as a rule in the earlier M. W. texts though later such forms as *brodyr*, *broder*; *llythyr*, *llyther*; *Merchyr*, *Mercher*¹, are fairly common). In the Mod. W. dialects again we meet with such forms as *eue* for *yua*, *dene* for *dyna*, *Dinbech* for *Dinbych*, *ydrach* for *edrych*. The Mod. W. forms have generally *y*, though in the literary language words like *ennill* for *ynmill*, *gwerydd* for *gwryyf* also occur. Cf. also Mod. W. *gresyn*, M. W. *gryssyn* (*glyssyn*).

M. Br. has forms with *i* (rare) and *e* corresponding to the *i*-forms of O. Br., e. g. *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) *Enes-* and *Inisian*, W. *ynys*; cf. *Hytherguent*, with *hyther* = *bedr*, *hezr* of M. Br.

Later in the Mod. Br. dialects we find fluctuations. The dial. of Vann. has very often a predilection for *i*, where the dial. of Léon has *e*, e. g. Vann. *bihue*, *ivein*, *inix* (*iniss*), *pisk*, *gwinir*, *stirenn* for Léon *beo*, *eva*(ff), *enez*, *pesk*, *gwener*, *sterenn*. This, however, may be a late change. For the change of *e* to *i* in the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau See *R. C.* 3, p. 47; and in the dial. of Quiberon, *R. C.* 16, p. 325.

1. *Mercher* may owe its final *-er* to *Gwener*.

A parallel but reverse change is apparent in the case of many loanwords in W. and Br. In W. we get the *e* of Romance words appearing as *y*, (a) Pretonic : *dyfosiwn* 'devotion' *B. Cwsc* (W. S. has *defosiwn*, as commonly in Mod. W.), *dyciae* 'decay'; (b) Post-tonic : *kweifyr* sayethe 'a quevar' W. S., M. E. *quiver*; *cweryl*. M. E. *querel(e)*; *dagyr* (W. S.) 'dagger'; — *myu* as plur. of E. — *man* in *porthmyn*, *iemyn*, etc.; *tocyn* 'token'; *Ystyryn* (R. B. H.) 'Stephen'; (c) accented *e* > *y* before *n*, *r*, *s* : *bryst* M. E. *breste*, *trysor* M. E. *tresor*, *syrkyn* M. E. *jerkyn*, *syndal* 'sendal'.

In Br. also the *e* of French words appears occasionally as *y* before *s* or *n* : *na ystiman* *netra* 'je n'estime rien' *R. C.* 25, p. 340; *d'am yscusim* 'de m'excuser', *R. C.* 25, p. 106; *ynterret* 'enterré'. *R. C.* 27, p. 22. Cf. also *marichal* 'maréchal', *R. C.* 3, p. 196; *ar re yminantan* 'les plus éminents', *R. C.* 26 p. 110.

3. — In the various Brythonic languages original *u* appears as an *u*- sound in some cases, and as *o* in others. As a rule W. has *w* except when a long *a* originally followed (in which case it appears as *o*). The same rule applies to Br., the *u*-forms being predominant; but in some of the early forms as well as in some of the Mod. dialects *o* is found side by side with the *u*- form. On the other hand, the rule in Cornish demands the *o*- form.

The same variation appears in loanwords from Lat. In certain cases the Lat. *ō* has the *o* and *u*- forms in W. as well as in Br. :

Lat. *sōnus*, W. *swn*, *son*; Br. *soun*, *son*;

Lat. *pondus*, W. *pwen*; Lat. *columba*, W. *colomen*, Br. *koulm*.

Again, original *ō* in some words develops into a *u*- sound in W. and Br. :

W. *twrch*, Br. *tourc'h*, O. Ir. *torc*; W. *iwrch*, Br. *iourch*, Cornish *yorch*.

The Br. *ounnen* (W. *onnen* 'ash-tree') is regarded as being merely a dialectal pronunciation (*Vendryes*, *R. C.* 30, p. 209).

The following are exs. of the intermingling of *o*- and *u*-

forms in W. and Br. in native and borrowed (Lat.) words :

M. Br. *brout* (Mod. Br. *broud*, O. Br. *brot*, W. *brwd*) 'ardent'; *con*, *coun* (W. *cwn* 'dogs'); *coff*(f), *couff* (W. *cof* 'memory'); *cogant*, *cougant* (W. *ceugant*) 'certain'; *calon*, *calaoun* (W. *calon* 'heart'); *crouc* (W. *crog* 'cross'), *crom* (adj.) 'bent', *croumaf* 'to bend' (W. *crwm*, *crymu*); *gozaff*, *gouzaff* (W. *goddef* 'to suffer'); *dorn* 'hand' (Mod. Br. *Léon dourn*, W. *diern* 'fist'), *yet* (Vann. *iout*, W. *uud*) ; *loncass*, *louncass* (W. *llyncu*) ; *rodoed*, *roudoez* (W. *rhodwydd*) ; *Sadorn*, *Sadourn* (W. *Sadwrn*) ; *ton*, *toun* (W. *ton* 'tone, tune') ; *archdiagon*, *archdiagoun* (Mod. Br. *arriagon*, W. *archddiagon*, *archiagon*) ; *moch* (Mod. Br. *mouc'h*, W. *moch*).

The M. Br. Charters (L. Ch.) have *calloch*, *callouch*; *gonidoc* (M. Br. also *gounidec*, W. *gweinidog*, ; *hoch*, *houch* (W. *hwch*) ; *moalc(h)*, *moualch* (W. *mwyalch*) ; *soult* (O. Br. *solt*, W. *swelli*) ; cf. O. Br. *rot* (gl. (a)eruginem, W. *rhwd* 'rust'). Mod. Br. has *hont* (W. *hwnt*) ; *blonec*, *blounhec* (W. *bloneg*).

In the Mod. Br. dialects the *o* and *u*-forms fluctuate considerably. For a list of words having *o* in Léon and *ou* in Vann.; words having *o* in Vann. and in the Catholicon, but *ou* in Léon, see R. C. I, p. 215. See also *ibid.* list of words having *o* in Léon but *u* (i. e. *ü*) in Vann. These exs. have *w* in W. See also note in R. C. 16, p. 186.

In the Romance loanwords in W. and Br. the cases in this category to be dealt with are those containing a short close *o*. This seems to appear in W. invariably as *u* (written *w*), in Br. mostly as *u* (written *ou*) and occasionally as *o* side by side with the *ou* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, I, p. 133 'Im Westen wird *o* vor Nasalen zu *ou*, *u*; so schreiben die mittelalterlichen Urkunden und Handschriften'). Exs. in point from Br. are :

M. Br. (E.) *courtes*, *cortes* 'courtois', *fourm*, *furm* 'forme', *tourmant* 'torment', *noundenn*, *monden*, *mundain* 'mondain'. L. Ch. (V.) has *counge* 'congé' (17th. c.), *countradou* 'contrats' (17th. c.), *milioun* 'million' (17th. c.). Le Gon. *rond*, *rouñd* 'rond', Tr. *loud*, *lod* (Vann. *lot*) 'lot'. Cf. R. C. 2, p. 196 ar *masouner* 'le maçon', p. 214 Kleier Fouesnant a *respount* 'les cloches de F. répondent', R. C. 5, p. 192 Lost ar c'hog er *poud* 'la queue du coq dans le pot'.

The cases among the Romance borrowings in W. are very numerous. As already mentioned W. has *w*. The M. E. and Fr. forms have sometimes *o*, sometimes *u* and sometimes both, in words where W. has only *w*. The sound in E. and Fr. was probably between the high-back-round and the mid-back-round, or really 'an extra-labialised *o*-sound'. As a rule in Norman-Fr. the fluctuation was between *o* and *u*, shoving the doubtful nature of the sound; but generally Norman-Fr. has *u* to correspond to the *o* of O. Fr. Exs. in W.: *barwn* 'baron' M. E. *baron*, *barun*, *baroun*, O. Fr. *barun*, -on; *backwn* *twrch* 'bacon' (W. S.) M. E. and early N. E. *bacoun*, *bakon*, O. Fr. *bacon*; *crwper* 'crupper' M. E. *croper*(e, later *croupere*, O. Fr. *cropiere*; *trwmp* 'a trump, trumpet' M. E. *trompe*, *trumpe* Fr. *trompe*; and many others.

Further, in M. E. there are words having *o*- and *u*-forms, whereas the Fr. forms are confined to *u*. This arose from a general confusion in M. E. and early N. E. between *o* and *u*, *o* being sometimes used for *u* merely as an orthographical device to avoid confusion when the *u* of O. E. came in contact with certain letters in MSS. It was originally a device of Fr. (see Horn, *Historische Neuenglische Grammatik*, Vol. I, p. 9).

Again, we have proofs of the *o*-timbre of the *u*-sounds of M. E. and early N. E. French writers of the 16th. and 17th. cs. compare E. *u* with their native Fr. *o*-sound (see Horn, *Untersuchungen zur Neuenglischen Lautgeschichte*, chap. 4). Hence we may gather that the early E. short *o* had a 'close' quality in some cases, and that the E. short *u* had likewise an 'open' quality under certain circumstances.

Moreover, some words having only *o*-forms in E. appear in W. with *w*, e. g. *crwc* 'pail' (W. S. *crwch*), E. *crock*, M. E. *krocke*; *cwt* 'a cot', M. E. *cot*, O. Fr. *cot*; *iwmwn* (W. S.) (pl. *iwmyn*, as in Hywell Swrdwal, who has *iwmynn*) 'a yeoman'; M. E. *yoman*; *swnd*, *swnt* 'sand', M. E. *sond*(e; *walwrt* 'wall-wort', M. E. *-wort*.

So, whereas in W. loanwords the forms generally accepted are the *w*-forms, in Br. we find traces of both forms, as seen from the above exs.

W. however, is not without its exs. of fluctuation :

botwn, botwn, bwtn, botwm 'a button', *D. G.*, p. 37.

Nid ananwyl dwyn anerch | O fotymau siamplau serch.

C. Charlymaen, p. 50, has *bwttwn*, and this is also the mod. Gwentian form by the side of Venedotian *bwtwm* (*botwm*), *M. E. botoun, botone*, *O. Fr. boton*, *Mod. Fr. bouton*; *clwpa, clopa* 'a club', *M. E. clobbe, clubbe*; *comffordd* 'comfort', *comffyrddus* (*cyffyrddus*), 'comfortable' (*W. S.* has *kwnffwrth* 'conforte', *kwnffwrddio* 'to counforte'); *concwst* 'conquest' and *kwnkwst* (*W. S.*), *O. Fr. conquest(e)*; also *concuwerio* and *cwncuwerio* 'to conquer'.

Note. — There are, of course, in W. many loanwords from E. with the pure *o*- sound, without variations in *w*.

We have seen above how some Br. words have *o* in the dial. of Léon (*ou* in other Br. dials.) but *bue* (i. e. *ü*) in the dial. of Vann. (*R. C.* 1, p. 215). This phenomenon may be compared with the appearance in W. loanwords from E. of *u* (i. e. W. *u*) where we would regularly expect an *w*. In these words we have, as a rule, a liquid or a nasal (*l, m, n* or *r*) following the *u*, e. g. *bulas* by the side of *belas*, E. *bullace* (early E. had *o*- and *-u* forms): *bulizens* in *D. G.*, p. 432 by the side of the commoner form *belizens* E. *bullions*; *burgyn* 'a carcase' from E. *morkin*; *cut* in *D. G.*, p. 149 and in some Mod. W. dials. by the side of *cwt* (the Common N. W. form), E. *cot*; *sunt-ur*¹ 'a kind of sundy gravel', *M. E. sonde* 'sand' cf. W. *swnd*; *sum* (and *swm*) 'a somme' (*W. S.*), also in *D. G.*, p. 148, *Mod. E. sum*.

4. — The interchange of *a* and *o* is of common occurrence in W. and Br. as in other languages.

a) The change of *o* to *a* appears in native words in the forms developed from earlier *gyo* (or still earlier *yo*-), and is supposed to be a case of delabialization after the labial *y* (see *Ped.* § 26, 4), e. g. W. *gwallofi* 'to pour', Ir. *folam* 'empty', W. *gwsgol* (earlier *gwsgawol*, as in *Goronwy Owain*) 'shelter, shade', Br. *gwasked*, Ir. *foscad*; W. *gwala* (and *i wala*

1. Or possibly from E. *cinder*.

'enough, galore') 'enough', Br. *gwalc'h* (and *a walc'h*); Br. *gwalc'hi*, W. *golchi*, O. Ir. *folcain*. Cf. W. *diguadef* in *Lib. Land.*, later *dioddef*; *gwared*, O. Ir. *jo-rethin*; *gwadn*, Ir. *fotha*. In Pembrokeshire *gwagar* is heard for the commoner *gogr*, *gogor* 'sieve'.

Corresponding to O. Ir. *for* there appears in M. W. a form *guar*, e. g. in *Lib. Land.* *guar ir hen rit* 'above the old ford'.

Occasionally the change appears in words borrowed from Lat. : W. *carrai* (O. W. *corrui*), Br. *korre-enn*. Lat. *corrigia*; W. *manach* (*monach*, *mynach*), Br. *manac'h*, *monac'h*, Ir. *manach*, Lat. *monachus*.

In some of the Mod. W. dials. (in parts of N. W. e. g.) *o* tends to become *a* (often in connection with *w*) in such words as *cywad* or *cîwad* = *cysfod* 'arise', *dîwad* = *dyfod* 'to come', *picwarch* = *pig-fforch*; *tywad* = *tywod* 'sand', *gwman* = *guy-mon* 'sea-weed', *paratoi* = *parotol* 'to prepare', *Methadus* 'Methodist'.

In addition to the exs. cited above, the following Br. forms may be mentioned : M. Br. *priadelez* 'marriage', cf. W. *priod* 'husband, wife', *priodi* 'to marry' Br. *pried*, *priet* 'spouse'; M. Br. (E.) *rigal*, *rigol* 'rigole'; Vann. (Ch.) *sam* 'somme, voiture', *spatulamancc* 'spatulomancie' in *R. C.* 12, p. 383; *vacabant* 'vagabond' in *R. C.* 11, p. 310, but *vacabont* on p. 308. The last two exs. may be due to vowel assimilation.

b) The opposite change of *a* to *o* is, however, much commoner in W. and Br.

It is found in some Lat. loanwords, e. g. W. *morthwyl* (and dial. *marthwl*), Br. *morzol*, Lat. *martellus*; Br. *koraiz* (W. *Y Garawys*), Lat. *Quadragesima*.

It appears also in some native words, in W. mostly in the dials. e. g. N. W. *afol* = *afal* 'apple'; *gofol* = *gofal*, 'care'; *diofol* = *diofal* 'careless'; S. W. *grondo* = *gwrando* 'listen'. Cf. Mod. W. *eto* for M. W. *etwa*; Mod. W. *o* (prep.) and *o* (vocative particle) for M. W. *a*¹, Br. *a*.

1. In M. W. the forms *a* and *o* occur, and are probably two originally separate prepositions.

In Br. the following may be instances of the change, M. Br. (E.) *onnoer* (*annoer*), dim. *onneric* (W. *anner*); *hogos* (W. *agos* 'near'); *hoguen* (*houguen*), 'but' (W. *hagen*); *holen* 'salt' (W. *halen*, V. (Ch.) *halène*, *halein*); *torr* 'belly', O. Br. *tar*, Ir. *tarr*. Cf. *huoniq* 'sun', R. C. 16, p. 212 (W. *huan*); Trég. *momm*, pl. *mommo* 'mother', Tr. (W. *mam*). Vann. has *amonen*, M. Br. *amanen* (W. *ymenyn*); *gorik*, *garik* = *gavrik* (L. Ch.). For other words in which the dial. of Vann. tends to favour an *o* where the Léon dial. has *ā*, see R. C. 1, p. 89 sqq.

The same change is apparent in some loanwords from Romance in W. and Br., the former having a goodly number of exs.

In Br. : M. Br. (E.) *dongerus* 'dégoutant', < Fr. *dangereux*; *orsail* 'batterie', = *arsail*, *assaill*, < Fr. *assaillir*; *strop* 'estrep(étrape)'. .

In W. : In the W. loanwords from E. cases of this change are very frequent, and some of very early date. The alternation between *a* and *o* occurs also in E. itself at an early period. The 'back' *ǣ* of primitive Germanic was changed early to *æ*; but an exception was that *a* before nasals was preserved, e. g. *lang*, *nama*. There was a tendency to write this sound with *o*, as *long*, *noma*. It is uncertain whether this *o* means really a very broad *a*-sound. O. E. had probably the 'low' sound of *a* (as in Fr. *patte*) before nasals, and possibly the *o* in *noma* etc. is an attempt to indicate this broad, deep *a*-sound. It has also been regarded as a labialized sound, a 'low' *a* with a slight narrowing of the lips. But in O. E. the practice of 'rounding' *ǣ* before nasals disappeared, only to reappear later in M. E. (see Sweet's *History of English Sounds*, p. 54).

Most of the W. exs. with *o* are probably from the M. and N. E. periods. In the majority of cases E. had two forms, in *o* and *a*, but we have, however, some instances where there do not seem to be *o*-forms in E., e. g. *pesont*, *lytenont*.

It is not before the nasals *m*, *n*, *ng* only that this *o* appears in W., for we have traces of it before *l* and *r*.

A few W. exs. are :

blowmon (*blewmon*, *blawmon*), E. *bloman*, now obsolete ;

Englont (*Inglont*), 'England'; *Ysgotlont* 'Scotland'; *ffustion* 'fustian', also early E. *fustion*; *garlond* (*garlont*) 'garland', Early E. *garland*(e and *garlond*(e; -mon '-man' in many words *hangmon*, *porthmon*, *hengsmon*, *plismon*, etc.; *lytenont* (*lifftenant*, *lutenant*) 'lieutenant'; *pesont* 'peasant'; *tenont* 'tenant'; *rampont* (*rampazant*) 'rampant', Early E. *rampaunt* (Ir. *rampant*); *Rolond* 'Roland'; *reiol* 'real'; *deiol* 'dial'. In W. dial. *hospitol*, 'hospital', *spectol* 'spectacles' (occurs also in *B. Cwsc*).

hongian 'hang' Early E. *hong-*, *hang-*; *honsel* 'a handsel', *hansel*, M. E. *handsel*, *hanselle*; *morc* 'a mark (coin)', M. E. *mark*(e; *ongl* 'angle'; *ponc* 'a mound, hillock', E. *bank*, M. E. *banke*, *bonkke*; *stond* 'stand', M. E. partic. *stonden*, *standen*; *rhonc* 'rank (adj.)', M. E. *ranc*, *ronke*.

Whether the sound denoted by *o* and *a* in Early E. was a pure *o*-sound may be a moot point, but there is no doubt about the purity of the sound as an *o* in the W. representatives of the E. words.

5. — The change of *e* to *a* in certain positions is of frequent occurrence in W. and Br. This is evident in native as well as borrowed words. Some very early examples are :

W. *adar* 'birds', *adain* 'wing', O. Br. *attanoc* (adj.), rt. **pet-*; M. W. *adaued* (later *edau*, *edafedd*) 'thread'; W. *alarch* O. Cornish *elerhc* (cf. Ir. *ela*); W. Br. *tan* (O. Ir. *tene*); W. *dala* (*Mab.*, *Kulhwch ac Olwen*) 'sting' (O. Ir. *delg*).

The same change appears in Lat. loanwords in W. and Br. (as well as in Cornish); W. *sarph* 'serpent', O. Br. *Bot-Sarphin*; W. *Calan*¹ 'New Years Day', M. Br. *qualan*; W. *car-char*, *tafarn*, *Padarn*, *ystarnu*, etc. (see *Ped.*, § 124, 6).

As a rule the change takes place when the *e* is followed immediately by *n*, *r* (or *l*).

Cases in Br. :

In some cases in Br. this change seems to be a dial. peculiarity, for we find in certain words that the dial. of Léon favours the *e*-form whereas Vann. leans towards the *a*-form.

These words have *n*, *r* or *v* following the vowel.

1. Late Latin, however, has also a form *kalandae*.

Léon : *kefniden*, *bemder*, *kenderu*, *keniteru*, *mene*, *ere*, *serch*, *evit*; Vann. *kanitredenn*, *bamder*, *kanderu* (*candêrhuë*), *kaniteru* (*caniterhuë*), *mane* (*mannê*), *ari*, *charj*, *aveit* (see R. C. 1, p. 87).

For the change of *er* to *ar* in Br. in native and borrowed words, see R. C. 25, p. 266; 26, pp. 65, 71, 73; 27, pp. 252.

Other exs. in Br. loanwords are (*e* before *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*) :

M. Br. (E.) *ambuig* 'embûches'; *asquipet* (O. Fr. *esquiper*); *assaign* 'enseigne'; *astandard* (O. Fr. *estendard*); *garredon* (O. Fr. *guerredon*); *kalander* 'calendrier'; *missal* 'missel'; *sarmant* 'serment'; *sarmon* 'sermon'; *talant* (Lat. *talentum*); *vanaeson* 'venaison'; *vandangaff* (*vendangaff*) 'vendantger'; *amaill* 'email'.

Cf. further *astennet* 'étendu' (Lat. *extend-ere*), R. C. 1, p. 120; *ampire* 'empire', R. C. 25, p. 320; *kanastel* (O. Fr. *canestel*), L. E. (H.); *ritual* 'rituel', Ir.; *dale* 'délai' (16 th.c.) L. Ch. (V.).

Cases in W. (generally before *r*, *n*, *l*) :

Note. — A somewhat similar change before *r* took place in E. also, when *ĕ* (open) followed by a final *r* or *r* + cons. became *a* before the end of the M.E. period, e. g. *sterre* > *star*, *kerven* > *carve*. This change, however, was not universal in E.

W. *adargop* (*adargop-we*), O. and M. E. *attercoppe*. (The W. form may be due to the influence of W. *adar* 'birds'); *Adfant* 'Advent' (in its special 'Christian' meaning); *pwyntmant* 'appointment' (E. (15 c.) *pointment*, cf. O. Fr. *poynement*); *Siarom* (in W. *Llyn*) 'Jerome'; *Siaspar* 'Jasper'; *ffardial* 'fardel'; *ffristial*, Early E. *fristelle*; *tranket* *trenket*, W. S.; *Syvarn* 'Severn' (in L. G. C., p. 463, E. *savodd deutu Syvarn*). *Chwalcys* in M. A., p. 324, ? < M. E. *welkes* 'whelks'; *barnais* W. S. 'varnish', M. E. *vernysche* (also W. *berneis*, *bernaïs*).

Cf. S. W. *ariôd* (*erioed*), *hala* (*hela*, *hel*).

6. — The mute or half-mute *e* in loanwords in W. and Br. :

1. In O. Fr. also *talant*.

The *e* in question is generally a final *e*, but exs. of medial *e* are found.

The treatment of the final *e* in Br. is manifold (see R. C. 8, p. 526).

1) It falls off altogether, Br. *chas*, Fr. *chasse*;

2) It becomes *e*, Br. *finesse*, Fr. *finesse*; Br. *chase*, Fr. *chasse*.

3) It becomes *a*, Br. *finesa*, Fr. *finese*; Br. *promesa*, Fr. *promesse*; Br. *blaveola*, Fr. *blavéole*.

In a few personal names it seems

4) To become *añ* in Trég., *Annañ*, *Barbañ* (see R. C. 9, p. 379).

For the form *-es* of Fr. we find in Br. the ending *es* preserved, e. g.:

M. Br. (E.) *baetes* 'bettes' (Trég. *boetes*, for which see R. C. 16, p. 220); *botines* 'bottines'; *perles* 'perles'; in R. C. 9, p. 200 *carotes* 'carottes', Cf. also M. Br. (E.) *boles* 'souliers' (W. *botas-au* < M. E. *botes*); Mod. Br. *almañdes*, *almañtes* for M. Br. *almandes*.

Note. — There seems to be an ex. of *s* as plur. suffix in a native word in R. C. 4, p. 66, *mesk ann drens* 'au milieu des épines' (W. *drain* 'thorns').

Cases of medial half-mute *e* are frequent in Br.; it assumes the form *a* as a rule.

L. Ch. (V.) *Allamaign* 'l'Allemagne'; M. Br. (E.) *autramant* (and *autremant*) 'autremant'; *paeamant*, *oignamant*; M. Br. *mandamant*, *familiaramant*; M. Br. (E.) has *vanegloar* 'vaine gloire', but later (R. C. 9, p. 379) the form *vænagloar* is found. Further, we have *gant ma halabarden* 'avec ma hallebarde', R. C. 25, p. 422; *fasilamant* 'facilement', R. C. 6, p. 84; *kog a lur a lur* 'le coq chante à la lurelure', R. C. 5, p. 191; *suramant* 'sûrement', R. C. 11, p. 61; *fausamant* 'au tort', Fr. *faussement*; *sakramañt* 'sacrement' Le Gon.; *commandamant* 'commandemant', A. f. C. L. p. 218.

The treatment of the half-mute *e* in W. in the loanwords from E. or Anglo-Fr.:

The final unaccented *ë* of M. E. appears in W. in a num-

ber of cases as *a*. As in the case of *e* in final unaccented syllables, this final *e* was an obscure sound in E. Indeed in final syllables this sound was not always denoted by *e*, but often (and especially in Wyclif's Bible) by *y*, *i*, *u* (? for *ü*), e. g. *mannis*, *locustus*, *opyn*. (For more about this M. E. sound see Sweet's *History of E. Sounds*, p. 52). W. *bicra* (and *bicre*), M. E. *bickre* 'skirmish' (the W. word found in *L. G. C.* and *R. B. H.*, II, p. 300); *bwla* 'bull'. M. E. *bule* (*bole*, *bulle*); *cwpa* (*Medd. Mydd.*, p. 347) 'cup' O. and M. E. *cuppe*; *ystola* *offeiriat* 'stoole', *W. S. Mod. E. stole*.

The M. E. plur. ending *-es* assumes in W. generally two forms, *-as* and *-ys*, indicating the obscure nature of the vowel.

botas (some kind of footwear; also *botys*, both forms being regarded as sing. in W. Cf. the Br. forms in *-es* above, where in M. Br. (E.) the sing. forms of the Fr. words are given as equivalents of the Br. forms) ? M. E. *botes*; *cocas* 'cogs (of a wheel)' ? M. E. *cogges*; *syartrysseu* in *R. B. H.* II, p. 335 'charters' (W. having really a double plur. form); *baedys* (? < *baedys*) *L. G. C.* 'badges'; *cwys* (*W. S.* has *hekyssen* 'keckes'); *betys*, M. E. *betes*; *ffigys* 'figs', M. E. *fygges*. Cf. W. *Charlas* (*R. B. H.* II, p. 379) 'Charles'; *Fflandras* ? < *Flandres* 'Flanders'. M. W. *tuplus* (? < M. E. *tables*).

7. — The change of *a* to *e* seems to occur occasionally in W. and Br. :

Possible Br. exs. are :

L. Ch. (V.) ebar̃ (*abar*̃); *eman* (a Vann. form) for *aman*; *etate* (*ataw*) 'always'; *de* (*da*, poss. pron.); M. Br. (E.) has *merc* 'marque', *renq* 'rang' (Vann. (*Ch.*) *ranc*, *renc*, pl. *ran-gen*); *scarleq* (and *squarlac*) 'écarlate'; *L. E. (A.)* gives Vann. *tes*, M. Br. *tas* < Fr. *tas*; M. Br. (E.) *squerb*, Fr. *ébarpe*; *L. Ch. (V.) senclou*, Fr. *sangle-s*.

Some doubtful exs. in W. are :

Arres 'Arras' *L. G. C.* p. 105; *brecwest* 'breakfast'; *pinegl* 'pinnacle' (in *W. Llŷn*); *pitfel* 'a pytfall', *W. S.*; *berfa*

1. O. fr. however, has *renc*.

'a barrow', M. E. *barewe*, *barwe*; *clec* 'clack'; *rheng* and *rhenc* 'row, rank', and others.

Forms like W. *passes*, *potes* ('passage, pottage') seem to show the simplification of a diphthong. The E. -age generally > *aes* (or *ais*) in W., this in the above cases being monophthongized to *es*.

Cf. M. Br. (E.) *trecc* or *traesco*, Mod. Br. *trez*, ? < Fr. *trace*. If so, the series of changes would be *ac* (*e* > *aes* > *es* > *ez*). The M. Br. *chenchaff* 'changer' is another example. Cf. *seççon* in *R. C.* 12, p. 167, by the side of *faeçon* in *R. C.* 12, p. 33 *señche* 'changer' of Mod. Br., and *L. Ch.* *gress*, *gracz*, *græce* 'grace'.

8. —The 'dulling' of *ĩ* in some words in W. and Br. :

M. Ernault in his review (*R. C.* 4, p. 465 sqq.) of 'L'origine des voyelles et des consonnes du Breton moderne de France (dialecte de Léon), par d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Mémoires de la Soc. de linguistique de Paris*, t. IV, 3^e fasc., pp. 239, 272)' criticises the remark that *ĩ* in some Br. words became *u* (i. e. *ü*) before *n* and *r*. The words *burzud* 'miracle' (M. Br. *berzud*, Vann. *berhut*) and *munud* 'detail' (Vann. *menut*) are, he says, no adequate proof of this change. He regards them as exs. of 'regressive' assimilation, and compares « léon. *butun*, pétun, *fubu*, *fibu*, *c'honibu*, mouchérons, *lugustr*, ligustrum, *muzur*, *muzul*, mesure... » L'inverse a lieu en léon. dans *fuzull*, fusil, en trécorrois *lutun*, lutin, *utul*, utile; en vann. dans *bugul* = *bugel*, berger... Le pet. Tréguier nous fournit, dans *kichen*, *kuchen* et *kuchun*, les trois degrés par où ont dû passer des mots tels que *kurust*, chorister, Tréc. *duvun*, devise; cornouaillais *hurunat* = *c'houirnat*, hennir. L'*i* se sera d'abord changé spontanément en *u* dans *possubl*, *horruhl*, *terruhl*... »

But granting, however, that assimilation accounts for some of the forms in *u*, there are others for which this explanation does not hold good, e.g. the last cases mentioned above, *possubl*, etc. And when we take *kuchun*, *kurust*, and *duvun* as exs. of assimilation, there is then to be explained the appearance of the first *u*, which came from *i*. Assimilation would not

explain *kuchen*, **korust* and **devun* ' (the two last being hypothetical forms antecedent to *kurust* and *duvun*).

A similar change is to be found in W., where in many cases we find *u* (or *y*) where we would regularly expect *i*. The pronunciation of the *u* and *y* in W. would necessarily depend on the period. This change of *i* to *y* (*u*) is seen more especially in the W. loanwords from E. or Anglo-Fr. The 'dulling' of the *i*-sound occurs mainly before *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, which generally have this effect on neighbouring vowels, e. g. *coblyn* E. 'goblin'; *awgrym*, M. E. *augrim*; *papur*, *papyr*, M. E. *papir*; *pentus* 'a pentice or-penthouse', M. E. *pentis*, *pentys*; *Snottul*, 'Snodhill', in *L. G. C.*, p. 56; *Suful*, ? 'civil', in *Iolo MSS.* p. 327; *vuttlio* 'to victual', in *C. Coch MSS.*, p. 41, M. E. *vitaille*; *ffrynd* 'friend', early E. *frind(e)*; *buloc* 'hyllocke' (W. S.) i. e. 'hillock'; *munud* (*mynud*, *munyd*) 'a minute', M. E. *minute*, *mynut*; *mursen* (earliest ex. in *D. G.*) ? < E. *virgin*; *pustol*, *C. Coch. MSS.*, p. 71 and elsewhere, found even in 16th. c., 'a pistol'; *punt* 'a pint', in *Medd. Mydd*.

9. — Svarabhakti-Vowels in W. and Br. :

The development of a Svarabhakti-vowel is more peculiar to W. than to Br. Indeed, it is generally regarded as quite foreign to the latter, but Br. is not without traces of it even from the earliest period, like W. itself. The prothetic vowel before *s* + cons. (*p. t. k*), which is regular in W. from early times and of occasional occurrence in O. Br. also, may be regarded as a Svarabhakti-vowel (see § 1).

But the commoner form of this, viz. the insertion of a vowel between certain consonants (the second being generally one of the liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*) is operative to a considerable extent in W., and is not entirely unknown to Br., although in the latter it is more of an exception than a rule. Exs. from O. W. and O. Br. are possibly O. W. *cenitolaidou* gl. natalis, (M. W. *kenedyl*-, Mod. W. *cenedl*), O. Br. *datolaham* (M. Br. *daʒl*, M. W. *dadyl*, Mod. W. *dadl*), O. W. *tara-ter* (Mod. W. *taradr*).

In M. W. *y* was an extremely common epenthetic vowel, and exs. of it are legion. By some this is not regarded as a

1. To *duvun* another antecedent form **duvin* might be postulated.

full vowel, but as a sort of glide between the consonants. Against this view may be adduced the form *hoedel* found in the *Mabinogion* (*Breuddwyd Maxen*) '*hoedel nac einyoes nid oes ida6 am danat*'. Here we may have an ex. of the frequent interchange of *e* and *y*, as in *Merchyr*, *Merchyr*, *brodyr*, *broder*, *tlythyr*, *llyther*. (See above § 2.) The forms *Cydywal*, *Dyfnawal*, *Tudawal*, by the side of the commoner *Cydwal*, *Dyfnwal*, *Tudwal* appear at first sight to contain an epenthetic vowel, but they may possibly be due to a variation in the seat of the accent, which in these cases may have fallen on the composition-vowel. See *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 7. Forms like *dala*, *bela*, *bola*, *boly* by the side of *dal*, *hel*, *bol* may supply exs. of epenthetic vowel between the *l* and the disappeared *g*. Cf. *dala* 'a sting' in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the O. Br. *delg*, and *gwyrff*, *gverydd*, by the side of *gwyrff* (*virgo*); also M. W. *kwyrff*, Mod. W. *cwrw* from *cwrwff* (O. Ir. *coirm*); M. Br. *delech* for *delch* from *delchell*.

In words with final consonant-groups, of which the last was *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*, there were two possibilities of easing the pronunciation. Either a vowel was developed between the two last consonants, or the last consonant was dropped altogether, this being fairly easy in the case of liquids. In W. (i. e. in the spoken language and in the dialects generally, where these changes more often take place) the rule seems to be, if a charge be made at all, —

1) In monosyllables to insert a svarabhakti-vowel, generally of the same colour as that in the preceding syllable.

2) In dissyllabic and polysyllabic words to drop the final liquid, because the addition of a vowel would necessitate the shifting of the accent.

e.g. 1) dial. *cefen* (*cefn*), *ofon* and *ofan* (*ofn*), *ochor* (*ochr*), *cylyn* (E. *kiln*), *llyfyr* (*llyfr*), *sicir* (*sicr*), *ystalwm* (*erstalm*, M. W. *talym*); *cwlwm*, for **cwlm*, is a literary form; in M. W. *clwm*.

2) *arad* (*aradr*), *palad* (*paladr*), *vineg* or *vinag* (*vinegr* 'vinegar'), *Cydwalad* or *Dwalad* (*Cadwaladr*), *perig* (*perygl*), *huddig* (*huddygl*).

In Br., on the other hand, when a charge does take place, it is generally the dropping of the final liquid that occurs, even in monosyllables as well as polysyllables, e. g. :

lest (W. *llestr*), *mest* (*mestr*. Fr. *maître*), *eont* (*eontr*, W. *ewythr*), *frenest* (M. Br. *fenestr*), *pot* (*potr*).

One or two doubtful exs. in M. Br. are *cagal* (? W. *cagl*, *cagal*), *cuffur* (*cuffr*) 'œuvre'; (here, however, the group *ffu* may be only another way of writing *ff*); *charoigun* 'charogne'; *delech* for *delch*; *gener* Fr. *genre*.

Cf. M. Br. *H. dilivaraff* (Fr. *délivrer*); M. Br. (F.) *chaudou-ron* (Fr. *chaudron*), *sourpelis* (Fr. *surplis*), Mod. Br. *sourpiliz*; L. E. (H.) *burutel* 'blutoir' (O. Fr. *blutel*), *palastr* (O. Fr. (em) *plastre*); *kalafati* (Fr. *calfater*) Ir., *perisil* (Fr. *persil*) Tr. cf. W. *posibilrwydd* (from *posibl*).

In Mod. Br. in such words as *ialc'h*, *aoualc'h*, an epenthetic or glide-vowel is said to be perceptible between the liquid and the final consonant.

Note : The common practice of dropping the final liquid in such cases as the above mentioned has led to the addition of an unetymological *l* or *r* in some words, see §§ 56, 58.

In the use of the svarabhakti vowel W. approaches nearer to Br. in the practice of inserting this vowel in initial consonantal groups; in the Vann. dial. more especially in Br., in W. in some standing literary forms and also in some words found in early texts.

Br. exs. : M. Br. (E.) *quenechen*, *kenech* (*knech*) 'mountain', M. Br. (E.) *barat* (O. Br. *brat*, W. *brad*); Vann. has *dele*, *deli* 'debt', *deleour* (pl. *delerion*) 'debtor', *quenëüen* (pl. *queneu*) 'nut', *darask* (and *drask*) 'a thrush', *kaneo* 'fleece' (W. *cnu* or *cnuf*). The Léon form *dluz*, 'a trout', is in Cornouaille *duluf*. In the M. Br. Chart. (*L. Ch.*) there seems to be an isolated instance, viz. *Tenou* (-*Evel*) by the side of the commoner form *tnou*, *trou*, In Mod. Br. *Tenou-Evel* is *Tenuel*. M. Br. has *knoen* and *kanouenn* plur. *kanou* (W. *cneuen*, plur. *cnau*).

W. exs. :

M. W. *dylyed* 'claim, night', *dylyedawg* 'noble', *dylyu* and *deleu* 'to deserve, to owe', Mod. W. *dyled* (and *dlêd*, *dylêd*), cf. Vann, *dele*; *tyno* 'dale' (Br. *trou*, *tnou*). In some fairly

early texts the following forms are found, — *tolodi* (*tlodi*, also Mod. W. *tyloded* and *tladed*, *claded* (dial.)), *Goroec* (*Groeg*), *taramwy* (*tramwy*), *cynawd* (*cnaud*), *oi bylegid* (*o'i blegid*); cf. colloquial *pyrioni* (*prioni*).

10. — Syncope of Vowels in W. and Br. :

The suppression of unaccented vowels (both pre-tonic and post-tonic) is a common process in W. and Br. Some exs. of early date are W. *crydd*, *drws* (Br. *kere*, *kereour*, Ir. *cairem*, Ir. *dorus*). Instances of this disappearance of unaccented vowels are common in all the Brythonic languages, in medial as well as in initial syllables, being due to the influence of the old Brythonic accent.

The effect of the accent on pre-tonic syllables, however, is particularly evident in Mod. W. and in the Br. dial. of Vann., where the modern rule demands the accent on the last syllable, as was probably the general rule in Brythonic generally at an earlier period.

Vann. has *clom* (Léon *koulm*) as well as *colom*, W. *c(o)lom-en*; Vann. *clom* 'knot' (W. *cwlwm*, M. W. *clwm*) and *sclom*; see V. (*Ch.*) s. v.

In the Mod. W. spoken language this loss of a vowel is exceedingly common, e. g.

Clamai (*Calanmai* = *Calan Mai*), *Clangaeaf* (*Calan gaeaf*), *clonna* (*calonnau*), *cnebrwg* or *cnebrwn* (*cynhebrwg*), *spydu* (*dybysyddu*), *mryniou* (*moryniou*), *cnegwath* (*ceiniogwerth*), *sleinsio* (< *sialeinsio* E. *challenge*), cf. *p'le* (*pa le*), *p'rai* (*pa rai*), *clymu* (from *cwlwm*), *gwlaû* for *gwelaau* plur. of *gwely*, **gwe-la*.

Note : Another instance of the loss of a vowel in W. and Br. is mentioned in Ped. § 42, Anm. 1, — « Nach dem *w* geht im Br. häufig ein Vokal (auf dem Wege der Assimilation) verloren :

Br. *eontr* 'Oheim'; *eon* 'Schaum', abr. *euonoc*; *naoun*. Selten tritt dies im C. ein : c. *haul* br. *heol*, c. *cawr* 'Riese' gall. *Κάλαρος*.... »

Other W. exs. of a loss of this kind would be the dial. forms.

wllys (*ewyllys*), *wddu* (*awyddu*), *twchu* (*tewychu*), *newddion* (*newyddion*), *twmnu* (*tywynnu*), *twsu* (*tywysu*), *Sulgrwn* (*Sulgrwyn*), *Llanwnda* (from *Llan* + *Gwyndaf*), *Llanrwt* (< *Llanwrwt* = *Llan Gwrwt*, cf. O. Br. *Uuorgost*, *Uurgost*). Cf. Mod. W. *diwrnod* for M. W. *diwarnawd*; S. W. has still *diwarnod*.

The loss of a post-tonic vowel occurs in such forms as W. *gweld*, *mynd* for *gweled*, *myned*, and in Br. *moñt*, *monet*; *doñt*, *donet*.

DIPHTHONGS

11. — Diphthongization of simple vowels, unaffected by *i* or *j* in the next syllable :

A. Original *ā* and *ō* were both treated in Brythonic as *ō*, which underwent the same treatment as L. *ō* in special cases in loan-words. In W. this developed into a diphthong *aw* in accented syllables. This change is mostly peculiar to W., but there are a few traces of similar diphthongization in Br., e.g. O. Br. *lau* (gl. *armum*), Br. *penaoz*¹ 'how' Trég. *penós* (W. *naws*), *laosk* (Lat. *laxus*, Ped. § 32. 2.)

Probable examples of this diphthongization in W. and Br. loanwords from Lat. are : W. *awr*, O. Br. *-ann-aor* (gl. *quantoidem*), Lat. *hōra* ; W. *nawn*, Lat. *nōna*.

B. Later exs. of diphthongization in the history of W. and Br. .

1) In a few words W. and Br. have developed a diphthong from *u* (i. e. Br. and early W. *ü* -sound) before *ch*, e. g. W. *bucwch* (but pl. *buchod* ; also *buches*, a collective form), Br. *bioc'h*, *buoc'h*. Cf. W. *uwch*, by side of M. W. *uch*, and *uchel* ; *lluwch* 'snow-drift', but *lluchio* 'to hurl' ; *curwch* 'frown', *cuchio* 'to frown', In *Dywlaïs* the *dyw-* stands for *du* 'black' = **dub-*.

A similar diphthongization of an *ü*-sound is evident also in some loan-words in W. from E. or Anglo-Fr. The earlier form of the diphthong is *uw* in W. O. E. had the sound *ü* (O. E. *y*), and this survived in M. E. especially in the South-West. But it was from Fr. that most of the cases of *ü* came over to E. In E. itself the sound underwent the following develop-

1. M. Br. *penaus*, *penaux* (L. Ch.)

ment, *ũ* -*ēi* -*iu* -*iũ* (the Mod. E. pronunciation). But though the diphthongization began in E. before the end of the 15th. c., the *ũ* itself was also preserved side by side with the diphthong. Hence the W. *uw* may be a development of the *ũ* pure or a reflection in W. of the process of diphthongization taking place in E. itself.

Exs :

buwł 'a mule', in W. *Llŷns Geiriadur*; *fluwet* 'a flute' W. S.; *lwt* 'a lute', W. S.; *miwsig*, *musig*, *muwsig* 'music', found in W. as early as D. G. (p. 370, *Ymysg llun gwau miwsig llon*); *rhuw* 'rue', in *Medd. Mydd.*, *siwgr* 'sugar' (found in D. G. p. 83, *siwgr ar win iddyn segr wen*); *yspruw* 'spruce', W. S.

2). Other cases of diphthongization are more or less common in Br. and W.

Before *z* (for *đ* or *þ*) in Br. we find in some words *ei*, where *e* would be expected to appear, e. g. Br. *dei*z (W. *dydd*), *fei*z (W. *ffydd*), *nei*z (W. *nyth*), *Brei*z (W. *Bryth-on*).

Where *ai* (earlier *ei*) appears in W. as the result of Umlaut, Br. has generally *e*, but before *z* again the diphthong *ei* appears in the words *prei*z (W. *praid*), *bei*z (W. *haid*), *blei*z (W. *blaidd*). Cf. also Br. *eil* (W. *ail*), *teil* (W. *tail*). By the side of *Trindet* we get Br. *an Dreindet* (W. *y Drinded*); and in *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) the form *Roez* in *Roez-quoedou* is found for the usual *Ros*. In M. Br. *saffroen* stands for Fr. *safran*.

Similar cases of diphthongization are noticeable also in Mod. W. (chiefly dial., and mostly in monosyllables as in Br.), e. g.

maen (*mân*), *does* (*dôs* 'go thou'), *tu-hwynt* (*tu-hwnt*), *ffoes* (*ffôs*), *baes* (*bâs*), *braen* (*brân*), *gwlaen* (*gwlan*). Cf. *heiddiw* (*heddyw*), *gloewyn byw* (*gloyn byw* 'butterfly'), *gweudyn* (*gwydn*).

In some E. loanwords in W. the E. *ā* is occasionally diphthongized, e. g.:

Sgaer (E. *share*), *spaer* (E. *spare*). In *sglait*s (E. *slates*) the diphthong may be a reflection of the E. diphthongization of *ā* in such words. The old W. form is *ysglatus*.

Other cases of diphthongization in E. loanwords seem to be W. *dantaith* 'a delicacy', M. E. *danteth*, *dantith*; *cofaint*, *cowfaint*¹ 'a convent', M. E. *covent* (from Anglo-Fr. *covent*, *cwvent*), as in D. G. p. 316 'Pwl *gwfaint*, pobl o gyfoed', R. B. H. II, p. 335, 'ac y dechreuwyf *coueint* y manachlawc gaerllion'; *turnamaint*, *turneimaint* (Mab.) 'a tournament', M. E. *tournement*; (*turneimant* occurs in M. A. p. 134).

3). The W. and Br. dialects exhibit other peculiarities of pronunciation.

In the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau *e* becomes *ei* before a vowel, at the end of words and before *n*, *m*; e. g. *leies* (W. *lliaws*), *leien* or *lujain* (W. *lliaîn*), *hei* (W. *hi*). — R. C. 3 p. 47.

In the Br. dial. of Quiberon also, *ou* and *o* are occasionally diphthongized. 'Open' *o* becomes *oa*, 'close' *o* becomes *oua*, e. g.:

din couoc'h 'old man' (Léon *den coç*); *ascouorn* (Léon *ascourn*); *coarn* 'corner' (Léon *corn*) *loast* 'tail' (Léon *lost*). — R. C. 16, p. 323.

Diphthongization in hiatus (as in Vann. dial.) is not unknown to the W. dialects, e. g. in parts of N. Wales.

lleian (*lliaîn*), *dreuan* *ohono* (*druan* *ohono*), *treiog* (*triog*, *triag*, 'treacle'), *pleuan* (*pluen*), *ffeuau* (*ffäen*); in Cardiganshire *euos* (*eos*), *euog* (*eog* 'salmon'). The *u*-glide after the *o*, before *l* in such E. words as *poll*, *bold*, *hold* has developed into a full diphthong in W. *powlio*, *powld* (dial.); *howld* (dial.).

12. — A common source of diphthongization in W. and Br. is that of vowels followed by a palatal-dental-spirant, voiced or voiceless (or followed by *n* or *r* + a dental-spirant), in loanwords from E. and Romance. W. S., in his W. Dictionary (16th. c.), has a note about the pronunciation of the W. *a*, to this effect, —

« ... Neyther yet as it is pronounced in English, when it commeth before *ge*, *ll*, *sh*, *tch*. For in these wordes and such other in Englyshe, domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, *a* is throught to decline toward the sound

1. In the M. W. texts *cwfent* and *cwfaint* occur, plur. *cwfenmoed*; the form with the diphthong may be a direct borrowing from Lat. *conventio*

of these diphthonges *ai*, *au*, and the wordes be read in thys wys, domaige, heritaige, languaige, waitche, caulme, caul. . . ».

In another place, when dealing with the gound *sh* of E., W. S. says :

« *sh* in dyfod ar ol bocall yn (iss) y galwant vegys hyn *asshe* aiss, 'onnen'; *wasshe* waiss 'golchi'. Ac yn pa ryw van bynac ar air i del, ssio val neidyr gyffrous a wna, nid yn anghyssyllt-pell o y wrth swyn y llythyr hebrew a elwir *schin*. . . ».

Then we have Palsgrave's note (*E. E. P.* p. 120, note):

« Also all words in the french tong which in writtyng end in *-age* shall in redyng and spekyng sound an *i* between *a* and *g*, as though that *a* were this diphthong *ai*, as for *langage*, etc. . . ».

The great number of Romance words in W. and Br. prove this tendency towards diphthongization, and they have designated this in the written forms of the words as full diphthongs. But in the case of W. and Br. the same thing happens with *o*, *u*, *e* (and *i*) in such positions.

Though we have external proofs of this only from the 16th. c., yet there are indications of the diphthongization even earlier in W. borrowings from Romance, e. g. in *D. G.* and *Iolo Goch* (14-15 cs.), and later in *L. G. C.*

In some of the Fr. dials. at an early date, the *a* before *g* in the ending *-age* was also 'palatalized'. The ending is often written *aige* (and *egé*). In the 15th. c. it was found occasionally in the dial. of Paris, but was later discarded. (See Meyer-Lübke, *Historische Grammatik der Französischen Sprache*, § 102.)

Exs. of this diphthongization in W.:

a) *a* : *braens* 'branch' (in W. *Llên* III. 62 'Arglwydd ystaens o *braens* am frie'; *C. Coch MSS.* p. 335 'Braens oE dwyn brins ydoedd'); *baeds* 'badge' *W. S.*; *caets* 'cage' (*D. G.* 'Caets euraid fal coed sirian'; W. S. has *kaitis* ederyn 'cage'); *ferneiswin* 'vernage (wine)'; *maits* 'matche' *W. S.*; *mantais* 'vantage' W. S.; *mortgaeds* 'mortgage' W. S.; *orais* (*oraens*) 'orange'; *potaes* 'potage' *W. S.*; *orlayds* 'clock' *W. S.*, (*W. Llên's Geiriadur* has *orlais* 'cloc', and *D. G.* has also. 'Orlais

goch ar irlas gainc'. In M. E. *orloge*, *orlage*); *saeds* 'sage' *W. S.*; *taeds* (bach gwn) 'a tache' *W. S.*; *taitsment* 'Attachement' *W. S.*

b). *e* : *kleinsio* pen hoyl 'clenche' *W. S.* (M. E. *clenche* (*n. cleinsio* is a common *W. dial.* form); *veinsians* 'vengeance' *W. S.* (M. E. *vengeance*, *vengeaunce*); *fleitsier* 'fletcher' *W. S.* (M. E. *flecher*, *fletcher*); *treinsiwr*. 'a trencher' (*D. G.* p. 204 'Trwn sor ffals, *treinsiwr* ffug'. M. E. *trencher*. In *Iolo Goch* p. 315 we get *traensiwr*, — 'Beth a fynnai erfaei wr | eithr arianswch a *traenswir* ?'); *Freiss* 'fresshe' *W. S.*; in *Medd. Mydd.* p. 204 'Cais bysgod *ffrais*'. In Mod. *W. dial.* *sleinsio* (for *sialeinsio*) *E. challenge*.

c). *i* : ? *bernais* 'varnish' in *D. G.* p. 103 'Delw o bren gwern dan fernais'. *W. S.* has *barnais* and *verneis* 'vernysche'. M. E. *vernisch*, *vernysche*; *ysgarmes* (? for *ysgarmais* or *ysgarmeis* by monophthongization), *sgarmes* in *L. G. C.* p. 155, M. E. *skirmischen* (verb).

d). *o* : *broitsio* 'broche' *W. S.*, (*L. G. C.*, however, has *broisio* and *broisiwr*); *loydsio* 'lodge' *W. S.* (also in Mod. *W. dials.*); *orloes*, M. E. *orloge* 'a horologe' (*D. G.* has 'Gwrddlef telyn ac *orloes*'); *Roesser*, *Roessier* 'Roger'; *Antioys* (? from *Antioch*, pronounced with a spirant *ch*) in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (*Buchedd Margret*) p. 222 'y dinas *Antioys*'.

e). *u* : *bwysmant* 'bushment, ambushment', *Iolo Goch* p. 133, 'Gwna *bwysmant*, bid trychant trwch'; *bwysel* (and *mwysel*) 'a bushel'; *bwysiet* 'a bougette' *W. S.*; *brwiss* 'a brusshe' *W. S.* (*brwyssio* 'to brush') M. E. *brusshe*; *dwynsiwn* 'a dungeon' in *C. Coch Mss.* p. 424 'yn dalgrwn i'r *dwynsiwn* du'; *twyts* 'touche' *W. S.*, (*twytsio* 'to touch' in *C. Coch MSS.* p. 177 'ac nid oedd, gwna dy weddi | air yno i'th *dwytsio* di').

Exs. of this diphthongization in Br. ¹ :

a). *a* : In *L. Ch.* the following occur, — *courraig* 'courage',

1. As there are forms without the diphthong by the side of the diph-

davantaig (and *davantag*) 'davantage', *imaich* 'image', *outraig* 'outrageusement', *personnaig* 'personnage'. In M. Br. (E.) the following, — *arraig bras* 'une grande rage', *bevraig* 'breuvage', *bisaig* (*visag*, *visaig*) 'visage', *chaing* 'échange', *domaig* (and *doumag*) 'dommage', *faig* (and *faich*), Fr. *fâcher*, *heritaig* 'héritage', *imaig* (and *imag*) 'image', *langaig* 'langage', *paig* (and *pag*) 'page', *potaig* 'potage', *messaiger* (and *messenger*) 'message', *raig* 'rage'. Tr. has *kraiñchat* 'cracher avec effort'. Exs. of this diphthong are very numerous.

b). *e* : This, when diphthongized, sometimes takes the forme *ai*. L. Ch. *privilaig* and *privilaich* 'privilège'; M. Br. (E.) has *ampeig* 'obstacle' (but *ampechaf* 'empêcher'), *breig* 'trouble' (? from Fr. *brèche*), *rebeig* 'reproche' (O. Fr. *rebecher* 'se rebecquer'). In R. C. 8, p. 468 *collaichou* 'collèges'.

c). *i* : In R. C. 10 p. 33 we find a form *seyg* (*ho seyg hu* 'votre siège, à vous'), which seems to show some kind of diphthongization of the vowel. The common form of the word in Br. is *sich*.

d). *o* : M. Br. (E.) has *boroloig* (and *borollog*) 'horloge'; *loigcaff* 'loger' (but *log* 'loge'); *poence* (and *ponce*, with epenthetic *n*) 'pouce'. In R. C. 8, p. 242 *soingis* (from Fr. verb *songer*) and p. 244 *pan soingaff* 'quand je réfléchis'.

e). *u* : M. Br. (E.) *ambuig* 'embûches'; cf. R. C. 10, p. 23 'me gray rez, emezaff | *Ambaig* do distragaf' (je leur tendrai des embûches pour les perdre).

f). *ou* : V. (Ch.) has *louiss* 'louche'. The M. Br. form seems to be *loes* (M. Br. (E.) s. v. *loes* 'louche', van. *lues* du l. *luscus*). Cf. R. C. 3, p. 72, '*Ruijenn* deuz ann noz | Glao antionoz' (*Rougeur* au ciel le soir, de la pluie le lendemain).

Br. shows diphthongization also of vowels followed by *gn*

thongized forms, these apparent cases of diphthongization may be merely orthographical. Besides, the modern Br. forms have no diphthongs in this case, as a rule. Such a form, however, as M. Br. *chenchaff* (Fr. *changer*) seems to point to some influence of the consonant on the preceding vowel. Cf. § 7.

in the Fr. originals, e. g. M. Br. (E.) *cigoing* 'cigogne', *compaignun* 'compagnon', *groign* 'grogner', *Bourgoing* (and *Bourgoign*, *Bourgouinn*) 'Bourgogne', *roingnenn* 'rogne'; *Spaing* 'Espagne'. In *L. Ch. Allamaign* 'l'Allemagne', *yeraignour* 'ivrogne'. Cf. *R. C.* 7, p. 338 'Rac n'ispairgnein hanni (car je n'épargnerai personne) in the Vann. dial. Cf. M. W. *Bwlwyn* Boulogne.

13. — The Diphthong *ai* of loanwords in W. and Br. :

A. In Br. :

In O. Fr. the diphthongs *ai*, *ei* were kept distinct, but in Norman Fr. they fell together, becoming 'open' *ei*.

The monophthongization of *ai* through 'open' *ei* to 'open' *e* took place very early in Fr., but the process worked earlier in certain cases than in others. It appears to have taken place earlier before double than before single consonants. In the 12th. c. final *ai* seems to have been pronounced as 'close' *e* or 'close' *ei*; but final *aie* kept the diphthong even up to the 16th. c. (see Meyer-Lübke's *Historische Grammatik der Französischen Sprache*, § 90).

The same takes place in the history of nasalised *ai* and *ei*. By the middle of the 12th. c. these had fallen together (see Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, § 91).

In the Br. loanwords from Fr. the sound appears in the forms *ae* and *e* from the M. Br. period. How far *ae* was a pure diphthong it is not easy to say. Even in early M. Br. in native Br. words the diphthong *ae* appears as *e*, e. g. *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) *mael*, *mel* (W. *mael*- 'prince'), *maen*, *men* (W. *maen* 'stone'), *maes*, *mes* (W. *maes* 'field'), *kaer*, *ker* (W. *caer*). In the Mod. Br. dials. the change is very common; for the *ae* of Léon the dial. of Trég. has *e* (*é*), e. g. *L. flaer*, Tr. *uler*; *L. sae*, Tr. *zé*. In the Vann. dial. also the change to *e* is universal.

Troude in his dictionary says : « *AE*. Cette finale se prononce comme *ahé* en français. C'est une diphtongue bretonne », and he cites such words as *pae* (Fr. *paye*), *rae* (Fr. *raie*) as *exs.*

In some Br. texts *æ* and even *ai* occasionally appear, *R.*

C. 1 p. 110 *aigl* 'aigle'; M. Br. (E.) *ivrai* 'ivraie'; a form like M. Br. (E.) *baettes* 'bettes' seems to show that *ae* was used to denote a vowel sound.

1). The following are exs. of Br. *ae* (*e*) corresponding to Fr. *ai*.

M. Br. (E.) has *aegr* 'aigre', *aegraff* 'aigrir', *aer* 'air', *aes* (*aez*) 'aisément', *appaesaff* 'apaiser', *apotiquaer* 'apothicaire', *bilen* (*vilain*, *villain*) 'vilain', *cabiden* (*capiten*, *cabiten*) 'capitaine', *cheueten* 'cheuetaine', *certen* 'certain', *daes* 'dais', *deboner* 'débonnaire', *defaet* 'de fait', *dem* 'daim', *essaer* 'essayer', *faet* 'fait', *fres* 'frais' (also M. Br. *fresq*), *gai* 'gae', *germen* 'germain', *humen* (*humaen*) 'humain', *imparfet* 'imparfait', *lelu* 'laitue', *maestr* (*mæstr*, *mestr*, *mest*) 'maître', *monden* (*moundenn*, *mundain*) 'mondain', *necesser* 'nécessaire', *noler* 'notaire', *ordiner* 'ordinaire', *panesen* 'panais', *pae* 'paie', *paemant* 'paie-ment', *palaes* 'palais', *oraeson* (*oreson*) 'oraison', *raeson* 'raison', *saeson* 'saison', *soliter* 'solitaire', *souden* 'soudain', *vicaer* 'vicaire', *vaen* 'vain', *vanaeson* 'venaison', *dalae* (*dale*) 'délai'. In *L. Ch.* *ær* 'air de musique', *reson*, *raeson*, *raison*, *rayson* 'raison' and others. In *M. Br. H.* *afer* 'affaire', *saler* 'salaire'. In *A. L. C.* p. 606 *cambre* « toile fine, de Cambray ».

In M. Br. *veruen* Fr. *verveine*, *e* represents Fr. *ei*; in M. Br. *assaign* (*L. Ch.*) Fr. *enseigne*, *ai* represents Fr. *ei*.

2). Before *l* mouillée the Fr. *ei*, *ai* appear in the Br. forms of the words as *ai* almost invariably.

Exs. : In M. Br. (E.) *amaill* 'émail', *apparaill* 'appareil', *bitaill* (*bytayll*), O. Fr. *vitaille*, *boutaille* 'bouteille', *morail* 'moraille', *parail* 'pareil', *taill* 'taille', *marvaill* 'merveille'. In *R. C.* 8, p. 90 *tenaillen* 'tenailles', *R. C.* 8, p. 230 *vaillant* 'vaillant'.

In M. Br. the forms *appareil* and *appareill* occur by the side of the commoner *apparaill*. Cf. M. Br. (E.) *treill bouarn* 'treillis de fer'.

Before *gn* of Fr. the *ai* appears in Br. as *ai*, as in M. Br. (E.) *brahaing* 'brahaigne'; cf. M. Br. *assaign* 'enseigne'.

B. In W. :

The early M. E. diphthongs *ai* (O. E. *æg*) and *ei* (O. E.

eg) fell together under *ai* in the 14th. c. in pronunciation. (See *E. E. P.* pp. 378, 119, and Horn's *Historische Neuen-glische Grammatik*, vol. I, p. 96). The same holds good for the *ei* and *ai* of Romance words in E. The development of the pronunciation of M. E. *ai*, *ei* may be seen from this table given in *E. E. P.* (where the double vowel means a long vowel). —

Mod. spelling	14th. c.	16th. c.	17th. c.	18th. c.
<i>ai</i> , <i>ay</i> (<i>rain</i> , <i>way</i>)	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i> , <i>aai</i>	<i>æxi</i> , <i>ee</i>	<i>eei</i> , <i>ee</i>
<i>ei</i> , <i>ey</i> (<i>vein</i> , <i>obey</i>)	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei</i> , <i>eei</i> , <i>ai</i>	<i>eei</i> , <i>ei</i>	<i>eei</i> , <i>ee</i> , <i>ii</i>

The chief difficulty in ascertaining the exact pronunciation of the W. representatives of these E. diphthongs lies in the fact that in such texts as the *Mabinogion* and the *Bruts* (*R. B. H.*) the *ai* of Mod. W. is generally represented by *ei*. How far this represents the real sound of the diphthong it is difficult to tell, as the tendency among scribes was to be conservative in the matter of spelling, even when the sounds had undergone a change. In *W. S.* (early 16th. c.) the diphthong was, with a few exceptions (e. g. *medlei*, *palffrei*), expressed by *ai*. As the texts of the works of the W. poets of the mediæval period are comparatively late, and have undoubtedly undergone considerable change, an examination of them would afford little clue to the exact pronunciation. Such lines as the following in the works of *D. G.* —

p. 88 Un arghwrtais yn lleisio
and p. 211 Ac with eichwrtais geisiaw
having 'Cynghanedd lusg' would seem to point to some resemblance between the *ei* of a W. word like *lleisio* (from *llais*) and the diphthong in the M. E. (Romance) word *corteis* (*cortey*s, *curtais*, *curlays*). In E., at any rate, the diphthong, as we have seen, was at this time pronounced *ai*, and it may have been so in W., though frequently written *ei*, and though the 'Cynghanedd' seems to demand the sound of *ei* to answer to the *ei* of the W. word. In such cases of 'cynghanedd lusg', however, the actual identity of sound may not have been

absolutely essential. Such is the case according to the modern rules of 'cynganedd'.

Taking a line like the one found in *M. A.* p. 307 :

Cadair ffair ffydd cedawl ufydd ced alafedd,
we seem to have an internal rhyme between *cadair* and *ffair*. If so, we may expect the pronunciation of the *ai* to be the same in both words. The diphthong in *ffair*, if from M. E., must have been pronounced *ai*. *Cadair* is from *hat. cāthēdra*, and thus the *ai* must have been pronounced *ei* at one stage of its development. In M. W. MSS. it would have been *ei*; but as this poem in the *M. A.* dates from the same period, and as *cadair* rhymes with *ffair* (with *ai* pronounced *ai*), we may gather that the *ei* in M. W. MSS. in some cases, at least, represented the pronunciation *ai*, or, at any rate, some sound approaching to it.

According to its position (though not always regularly) this *ai*-sound of E. is represented differently in the W. loanwords. In the following cases, (1) when final in monosyllables, (2) when followed immediately by a vowel in the next syllable, (3) when coming before *l, n, r, s*, it appears in W. as *ae* (*ay*), a sound which has today, and probably even at a fairly early period, the sound of W. *au*. In monosyllables this W. diphthong had a long element, *āu*. When the monosyllables are lengthened by the addition of an ending containing a 'front' sound, the *ae* becomes *ei*, e. g. *paent*, *peintio* (to paint); *traen* (dial., 'a drain'), *treinio* (to drain). Cf. W. *gwaedd* (a shout) but *gweiddi* (to shout).

In all other cases the diphthong appears as *ai* (*ei*), and occasionally as *e*. The *ei* appears in accordance with the rule of Mod. W. in such words as *main*, *meinion*. W. S. is not always consistent, for he has *medlei*, but *rwmmnai*; *cwrteis*, but *malais*. Where the Mod. W. has *ei*, however, he too has *ei*, e. g. *cwrteisi*, *maleisus*, *twrneiod*.

Exs. :

1) W. words with *ae* :

haels (dial., 'shot') M. E. *hail*, *hayle*; *mael* 'gain', early E.

maile, Mod. E. *mail*; *ystaer* 'stair'; *aer* 'air', M. E. *eir*, *ayre*; *aer* 'heir', M. E. *eire*, *eyr*, *ayr*; *aesel* 'verjuice', M. E. *aisel*, *eisil*; *azomael* (*ozomael*) 'enamel', M. E. *aumayl*; *bae* 'bay-tree' (in *Medd. Mydd*, p. 249), M. E. *bayle*, *baie*; *bacart* 'bayard', M. E. *bayard*; *balaen* (*balain*, *balen*, *malaen*) 'Milan-steel', early E. *Melayne*, *Mylleyn*; *berjaen* (*ferjaen*) 'vervain', M. E. *verveyne*; *ditaen* 'dittany', early E. *dyteyne*, *dytayne*; *ffrae* 'a quarrel', E. *fray*; *maentumio* 'maintain', M. E. *mainten*(e), *mayntyn*(e); *paemant* 'payment', M. E. *payment*, *paiement*; *puent* 'paint'; *plaen* 'plain'; *siamberlayn* 'chamberlayne' *W. S.*; *taeliwr* (also *teiliwr*, *teiler*) in *D. G.* p. 10, 'a tailor'; *trafael* 'travail, travel'.

2) Words with *ai* (*ei*), in *W.* :

attornai 'attorney', M. E. *att(o)urney*, *attornai*; *baili*, *beili* 'bailiff'; *batail* 'battle', M. E. *batayle*, *bataille*; *bitain* 'betony', early E. *betayne* (*W.* has also *betain*); *bitail* 'victuals', M. E. *vitaille*; *bilain* 'villain'; *causai* 'a causey, causeway', M. E. *causei*; *clai* 'clay', M. E. *clai*, *clei*; *claim* (*L. G. C.* p. 46, 'Harri ei glaim rhoi i gler'; *W. Llŷn* in his *Geiriadur* has *claimio*, but *B. Cwsc* has *cleimio*, like Mod. *W.*) 'claim', M. E. *cleyne*, *clayne*; *cwmpeini* 'company', M. E. *compainie*; *cwrtais* 'courteous', M. E. *corteis*, *curtais*; *ffair* 'fair', M. E. *seire*, *feyre*; *ffwrnais* 'furnace', M. E. *furneise*, *fo(u)rneys*(e); *hacnai* 'hackney' (*W. S.* *hacknei*) M. E. *bakenai*, *bak(e)nei*; *harnais* 'harness', M. E. *harnais*, *harneis*; *leſain* 'leaven', M. E. *levain*(e); *lifrai* 'livery', M. E. *liverei*, *liveray*; *medlai* 'medley' (*W. S.* *medlei*); *motlai*, *mwtlai* 'motley'; *mwnei* 'money', M. E. *moneye*, *monaye*; *palffrai* 'palfrey' (*W. S.* *palffrei*) M. E. *palefrai*, *palefrey*; *simnai* 'chimney', M. E. *chymneye*; *siwrnai* 'journey', M. E. *Iornee*, *jurneie*.

3) Words with *e* in *W.* :

balen (by the side of *balaen*, *balain*, *malaen*, see above (2)) 'Milan-steel', Early E. *melayne*; *bargen* (by *D. G.* 'Beth a dal anwadalu | Wedi'r hen fargen a fu?'), by side of *bargain*, M. E. *bargayne*, *bargeyne*; *prife sel* 'privy seal' *W. S.*, (but *L. G. C.* p. 262, *pryfai sel*), M. E. *privei*, *privay*; *siambrlen* 'chamberlain' in *D. G.* p. 117, '*Siambrlen y feinwen yw fo*',

(but *W. S.* at a later period has *siamberlayn*, see above (1)), *M. E.* *chamberlein*, *chamberlayne*, *O. Fr.* *chamberlain*, *chamberlen*; *travel* 'travail, travel' in *M. A.* p. 287 b, but with *travael* in the very same poem, *M. E.* *travail*; *wassel* 'wassail' in *L. G. C.* p. 13 'val rhoi *wassel*, but in *L. G. C.* p. 81 'govyn *wassael*', *M. E.* *wasseyl*, *washayl*.

Note : — In the *W.* dials. the diphthong is regularly monophthongised, e.g. *simne*, or *simna* for *simnai*; *siwrne*, *siwrna* for *siwrnai* (see § 15).

14. — The Diphthong *oi* of loanwords in *W.* and *Br.* :

In native words *O. Br.* *oi* became *M. Br.* *oe* and *Mod Br.* *oe*, *oa*, *oue*. These diphthongs generally represent the *W.* *oe* and *wy* (and occasionally *ae*). In *W.* *oe* and *wy* sometimes interchange e.g. *boenyn* and *bwynyn* 'a snare'. In dials. *ceyliu* may be heard for *coelio* 'to believe'. In the Romance loanwords *W.* and *Br.* show marked similarity in their treatment of the diphthong.

A. In *Br.* :

The *O. Fr.* *ei*-diphthong developed first into *oi*. This *oi* fell together with 'open' *oi*, even as early as the 12th. c. The exact pronunciation of this *oi*, however, is not known. But the next development seems to have been to *oé* (? proving that the *o* was 'close'). In the 13th. c. this alternates with a form *oai*. The pronunciation *oé* (or rather *ué*) is the common one in the subsequent centuries, till the pronunciation *ua* appears. Traces of this are found even in the 16th. c. (See Meyer-Lübke's *Historische Grammatik*, § 83).

The forms met with in the *Br.* words are primarily *oe*, later *oa* (where *o* stands probably for an *u*-sound. See Ernault's *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 3).

It may be remarked here that the forms *oe*, *ue*, *oue* alternate frequently in the *Br.* texts and dictionaries, e.g. in the native words — *M. Br.* (E.) *argoez*, *arguez*, *aroez*, *aruez* (*W.* *arwydd*); *clouet*, pl. *cloedou* (*W.* *clwyd*); cf. *does*, *dues* (*W.* *dwys*).

In the *Vann.* dial. *oue*, *oui* generally appear where the *Léon* dial. has *oe*, *oue*.

1) Fr. *oi* = Br. *oe* (*oa*). — For the interchange of *oe* and *oa* in M. Br. see R. C. 11, p. 364.

Exs. : In M. Br. (E.) *ampoeson* 'poison', from Fr. *empoisonner*; *angoes* 'angoisse'; *appoeaff* 'appoier'; *appoentaff* 'appointer'; *boest* 'boîte'; *chamoës* 'chamois'; *choas* 'choix'; *coant*, O. Fr. *coint*; *coeff*, 'coiffe'; *foar* 'foire', (R. C., I, p. 122, un *foar* gaer); *meritoer* 'méritoire'; *parroes* 'paroisse'; *poenczon* 'poinçon'; *pressoer* 'pressoir'; *poeson* 'poisson', *refectoer* 'réfectoire' *voetur* 'voiture'; *poent* 'point'. In L. Ch. occur *choaset* 'choisi'; *gloar* 'gloire'; *vanegloer* 'vaine gloire'; *victoar* 'victoire'; *joa* 'joie'; and many others.

2) Fr. *oi* = Br. *oue* :

In M. Br. (E.) *fouen* 'foin' occurs. In R. C., 8, p. 90 we get 'vn mouez' (une voix); M. Br. has *scruytouer* by the side of *scruitoer*, *scritol* 'écritoire'.

3) *oi* stands for Fr. *oi* in one word, M. Br. (E.) *coing* or *coinn* 'coin'.

4) *oae* stands for Fr. *oi* in one or two cases, — M. Br. (E.) *coent* (*coent*, *coant*) for O. Fr. *coint*, and *Trōae* (*Troe*) 'Troie'. Here, however, the *ae* may be for *e*.

5) The Fr. *oi*, appears in a number of Br. words as *e* (and *ae*).

By the side of the development of Fr. *oi* mentioned above, this diphthong had also another development through *ué* (with 'open' *e*) to 'open' *e*. This change cannot be satisfactorily explained. (See Meyer-Lübke's *Historische Grammatik der Französischen Sprache* § 84.) Reflections of this are found in Br. loanwords, where the Fr. *oi* is represented by *e*¹. But by the side of this *e* there occur also forms with *ae*. Whether this *ae* represents an 'open' *e*, or is really a diphthong alternating with *ae* (as is not uncommon) is uncertain. It may be mentioned however, that in Fr. in the dial. of Ile de France nasalised *ai* is rhymed with nasalised *oi* from the 13th. c. (See Meyer-

1. The West Fr. forms were *ei*, *e*. The Br. forms may then be due to these or to the other development of *oi*.

Lübke *op. cit.* § 91 and § 84). The *e* of Br. can hardly be a monophthongized form of *oe*, because *oe* when monophthongized becomes (generally in final syllables) *o* in Br., e.g. M. Br. *nadoe*~, Mod. Br. *nadoz*; M. Br. *baradoe*~, Mod. Br. *baradoz*~. In M. Br. it rhymes with *-aes* and *-os*.

Exs. with *e* and *ae* in Br. :

M. Br. (E.) *parres* (by side of *parroes*) 'paroisse'; *presser* (by the side of *pressoer*) 'pressoir'; *cerues* 'cervois'; *courtes*, *cortes* 'courtois'; *damesel*, *demesel* (Mod. Br. *dimezel*) 'damoiselle'; *hachedenes* 'hachedenoise'; *deuer* 'devoir'; *lesen* 'loi', from Fr. *lois*; *lesir* 'loisir'; *maner* 'manoir'; *noter* 'notoire'; *esplet* 'exploit'; *esper* 'espoir'; *veturier* 'voiturier'.

achaeson O. Fr. *achoisson*; *aer* (fém. *aeres*) 'héritier', O. Fr. *hoir*; *Benaet* 'Benoît'; *brae* 'broye'; *esmae* 'émoi'; *laesen* 'loi' (cf. *lesen* above).

Note : — For interchange of *ae* and *oe*, (*ai* and *oi*) cf. M. Br. *charaig* and *charoigun* 'charogne'; *fae* and *foi* 'fi'; *Geruoës* 'Gervais'.

B. In W. :

Ellis in his *E. E. P.* says that the *oi* (*oy*) of Mod. E. words was pronounced *ui* in the 14th. c. Horn in his *Historische Neuenglische Grammatik*, Vol. 1, p. 100, says, — « *Oi, ui.* Die me. Wörter mit *oi-ui* sind fast alle französischen Ursprungs. Die Doppelheit *oi-ui* finden wir bei den früh-neuenglischen Orthoepisten wieder : sie entscheiden, allerdings, mit beträchtlichen Schwanken, zwei Gruppen von Wörtern, eine mit *oi*, eine andere mit *ui*. Es scheint möglich, dass afrz. *qi* die Quelle von me. *oi* ist, während afrz. *qi* me. *ui* ergab. »

On p. 209 he gives a table containing —

M. E.	15th. c.	16th. c.	17th. c.	18th. c.	19th. c.
<i>oi</i> (<i>joy</i>)	<i>oi</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>qi</i>
<i>ui</i> (<i>boil</i>)	<i>ui</i>	<i>ui, ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai-oi</i>	<i>oi.</i>

See further *E. E. P.* p. 399.

With a few exceptions, appearing mostly in *W. S.*, the

W. words have *wy* corresponding to this diphthong of. E. In M. W. the *y* in *wy* is = W. *u*; in S. *W.* it is = *i*.

1) Exs. with *wy*:

Anwyntio 'anoit' (L. G. C. p. 288 Yntau Tomas 'mwyn-tiwyd a gras); *apwyntio* 'appoint', M. E. *apoint(e)*, *apoynt(e)*; *asswyn?* from M. E. *asoyne*; *brwylio* 'broyle' *W. S.*; *bwi* a *vydd* with *ancor* 'boy' *W. S.*, Mod. E. *buoy*; *ffwyl?* from E. *foil*; *fwyn* brath ac aryf 'foyne' *W. S.*, M. E. *foyn(e)*; *llwyn*, *lwyn* 'loin' (*W. S.* has *llwyn* ar gic 'A loyne'), M. E. *loyne*; *pwynt* 'point' (D. G. p. 141 *Pwyntiau* afrwydd drwy'r flwyddyn); *pwyntio*, an aphetic form of *appwyntio* 'appoint'; *pwyntel*, *pwyntil* 'pencil, pointel', M. E. *poynsil*, *poyntell*; *pwyntmant* 'pointment, appointment' (D. G. p. 49 I' r nant lle' r oedd *pwyntmant* per); *pwysi* 'a posy', Early E. *poysie*; *sbwylio* (*spwylio*) 'to spoil' (*Cym. Ll. Cym. II.* p. 22. A *sbwyliodd* lawer sten a stwnt; p. 26, a *spwyliodd* lawer ffenestr wen.); *wynwyn* (*gwynwyn*) 'onions' (*Medd. Mydd.* p. 173. *gwynwyn*) M. E. *oynon*.

2) Exs. with *oe* (*oy*):

Kloystr 'cloister' (*I. Goch* p. 175 *Kloystr* Westmustr); *coeten*, *coetan* 'a quoit', M. E. *coyte*; *voydio* 'voyde' *W. S.*, M. E. *voiden*; *oystreds* *ffedder* 'oystreche *ffedder*' *W. S.*, i.e. ostrich feather, M. E. *oystryche*; *oestyr* 'oyster' *W. S.*, (*Medd. Mydd.* p. 165 Cymer gregyn *oestrays*) M. E. *oistre*, *oystre*. There is also a form *wstrys* (? for *wystrys*), which may be for M. E. *oistres*, or the variant M. E. form *ostres*. The form *poynt* occurs by the side of *pwynt* 'point' in *Proffwydoliaeth Sibli Ddoeth* p. 276, '*pwynt* blaenllym vegis *poynt* scorpion'.

15. — Simplification of Diphthongs in W. and Br. :

The process of monophthongizing diphthongs is very prevalent in W. and Br. in their later history. In the written language it may be commoner in Br. than in W., but in the mod. dials. of the latter it is extremely marked.

A. In Br. :

1) In accented syllables.

a) *ae*. Even in M. Br. there are traces of the monophthongi-

zation of this diphthong. In *L. Ch.* (M. Br. chart.) *mel* and *mail* 'prince' (W. *mael*-), *men* and *maen* 'store' (W. *maen*), *mes* and *maes*, 'field' (W. *maes*), *bel* and *hael* 'generous' (W. *hael*). Cf. M. Br. (E.) *elgueẓ* 'chin' (W. *aelge(r)th*).

In dial. of Léon it occurs in such words as *keẓour* (M. Br. *quaeẓour*, O. W. *caitoir*, Mod. W. *cedor*), *belek* (M. Br. *bae-lec*).

It is the general rule in the dials. of Vann. and Trég. (For the latter see Le Clerc's *Grammaire bretonne du dial. de Trég.* § 12). V. *er*, Léon. *aer*, M. Br. *aẓr*; V. *ker*, Léon *kaer*, M. Br. *caẓr*; V. *men*, Léon *mean*, M. Br. *maen* (*men*) (W. *maen*). Trég. *uler*, *zé*, *les* = Léon *flaer* (*flear*), *sae*, *laeẓ* (*leaz*); Léon *mae* is in Trég. *mê*.

Before *r* in the dial. of Vann. *a* (not *e*) appears in *dareu* (M. Br. *dazrou*, Léon *daerou*).

b) *ao*. Here again Trég. shows a simple vowel for the diphthong of Léon.

Léon, *taol*, *kaol*, *penaoẓ*, *paotr* are in the dial. et Trég. *tól*, *kól*, *penóẓ*, *pôtr*.

In R. C. 4, p. 66 we find *glo* 'rain', which is M. Br. *glau*, Léon *glao*, Vann. *glaii*, W. *glaw*.

The *au* of Fr. appears sometimes as *au*, sometimes as *o*. In Fr. itself there are traces of the *o*-pronunciation from the 14 th. c., but there is evidence that it was a diphthong even in the 16th. c. (See Meyer-Lübke's *Historische Gram. der Franz. Sprache*, § 92).

au occurs in M. Br. (E.) *autramaut* 'autrement'; *L. Ch.* *a causs* 'à cause' (cf. R. C., 9, p. 348, *ha ma oun caus* 'c'est moi qui suis cause'); *faüt* 'faute' (M. Br. *fault*).

o occurs in R. C., 24, p. 266 *evit an deboch* (par la débauche); R. C., 9, p. 162 *ocmantin* 'augmenter'; R. C., 9, p. 198 *ar somon* 'le saumon'.

Note : — For the dial. interchange of *au*, *o*, *a* see R. C., 16, p. 220.

c) *oe* (*oa*, *oua*).

Traces of simplification appear in M. Br. (E.) *toem* 'hot, warm' and *tom*; *toemaff* and *tomaff* 'to warm' (W. *twym*,

twymo); in *L. Ch.* (M. Br. chart.) *rouant* and *roant* for O. Br. *roiant*; cf. also *off* (*ouaff*) 'I am', Mod. Br. *oun*, by the side of W. *wyf*, and M. Br. *ros* 'he gave' (from *reiff* 'to give') by the side of *roas*, *reas*, W. *rhoes* (from *rhoddi*, *rhoi* 'to give').

In one case *oe* = *e*, M. Br. *louer* Mod. Br. *loer*, pl. *lerou* (W. *llawdr llodrau*).

In the dial. of Trég. *á* appears for the *oa* of Léon; Léon *bloa* = Trég. *blá* (W. *blwydd* from *blwyddyn*).

d) *ou*.

In M. Br. Chart. (*L. Ch.*) *pou* (with a diphthong) has a bye-form *po* (O. Br. *pou* from Lat. *pagus*, W. *pau*). Other M. Br. forms in proclisis are *peu*, *pe*.

e) *ei*.

In Br. *léal* 'loyal', if it is, according to *L. E. (H.)*, borrowed from O. Fr. *leial*, *ei* has become *e*. But the form *léal* appears in Fr. up to the 17th. c.

2) In unaccented syllables.

a) *ae*.

In the dial. of Vann. *e* generally appears for *ae*. In Br. *-ez* corresponds to the W. *-aeth* in substantives. In Br. *balan*, *banal* (M. Br. *balazn*), *balan* (M. Br. *alazn*) *a* appears in the unaccented syllable, whereas in other cases it would be *ae*. Cf. *esa* by the side of *esae* from. Fr. *essai*; *ema* 'is' W. *y mae*.

b) *oe*.

The M. Br. *oe* generally becomes in later Br. *o*. M. Br. *nadoez*, Mod. Br. *nadoz*; M. Br. *baradoes*, *baradoez*, and *barados*, Mod. Br. *baradoz*; M. Br. *cadoer*, Mod. Br. *kador* (W. *cadair*); M. Br. *parroes* (*parres*), Mod. Br. *paroz* (R. C., 12, p. 204 en he *barrouz* 'dans la paroisse'); M. Br. *patrimon* by the side of *patrimoen*, Fr. *patrimoine*; M. Br. *scritol* by the side of *scruiroer*, *scruytouer*, Fr. *écritoire*; M. Br. *cantoell*, Mod. Br. *kantol* (cf. M. Br. *cantoller* by the side of *cantoeller* 'chandelier'); M. Br. *ystoar*, *histor*, *hystor*, Fr. *histoire*; M. Br. *henoez*, *henoaz*, *henoz* (W. *-noeth*). Cf. M. Br. *morzol* (R. C., 3, p. 64 gand he *vorzolon* 'avec ses marteaux') with W. *mor-thwyl*. For *o* in such cases in the dial. of Batz, see R. C., 11, p. 357.

c) The O. Br. pl. ending *ou*, which was a diphthong, like the W. *ou* (Mod. W. *au*) is a monophthong in Mod. Br. (Léon *ou*, Trég. *o*); Vann. *eu* is still a diphthong.

B. In W. :

Diphthongs are commonly monophthongized in the W. dialects.

1) In accented syllables.

In this case the exs. are mainly monosyllables with a long element in the diphthong.

a) *ae*.

gwaid (*gwæd*. Williams Pantycelyn has *-ad* rhyming with it); *Sir Gâr* (for *Sir Gaer-fyrddin* 'Carmathenshire'); *trâd* and *whâr* in S. W. (for *traed* and *chwaer*). In N. W. *mâ* is used for *mae* before consonants. In S. W. *blân* (*blaen*), *drân*, (*draen*), etc.

In words of more than one syllable the following forms occur N. W. :

cluar (*claear*), *duar* (*daear*), *goriwarad* (*goriwaered*), *hyrllig* (*haerllug*), *huar* (*haerarn*).

b) *oe*.

In S. W. *oe* > *ô* in such words, as *crôs* (*croes*, which is rhymed with *-ôs* by Williams Pantycelyn), *ddô* (*ddoe*), *llôr* (*lloer*), *ôn* (*oen*), etc.

In words other than monosyllables *cogio* (? from *coegio*) and *oddwn* (for *oeddwn*).

c) *wy*.

In N. W. *gŵr* (*gŵyr*), *nhŵ* (*-hwy*), *pŵ* (*wy*). In words of more than one syllable there are forms like *twmo* (*twymo*), *mwar duon* (*mŵyar duon*). *twmpath* (M. W. *twynpath*).

d) *ei*.

cerch, *cyrch* (*ceirch*); *Rhyl* is supposed to stand for *yr Hyl* = *yr Heil* i. e. 'the salt-places'; *gwerlodd* (*gweirglodd*) *isio* (*eisieu*), *ista*, *iste* (*eistedd*), *ni(n)dio* (*neidio*) *pidio* (*peidio*). Cf. O. W. *caitoir* gl. *pube*, Mod. W. *cedor*. In S. W. *girie* is heard for *geiriau*.

e) *yw*.

clîvad or *clîved* (*clywed*), *cîvad* (from *cywad* from *cywod* from *cyfod*), *dîvad* (*dywed*), *riesut* (*ryesut*), *rhacath*, *rhaceth* (*rhywbeth*), *slîwan* (for *slywen* for *llysywen*).

f) *ow*.

rwlio (for *rowlio* from E. *roll*), *Wan* (*Owain*). The M. W. *gorffowys* is in Mod. W. *gorffwys* or *gorffwyso*.

2) In unaccented syllables.

a) *ae*, (*au*).

In Gwynedd generally *a*; in other districts (except Glamorgan, which has *a*) it is *e* :

caſſal, *caſſel* (*caſſael*); *gadal*, *gadel* (*gadael*); *gafal*, *gafel* (*gaſael*); *marchogath*, *-eth* (*marchogaeth*) In N. W. Caernarfon is pronounced *Cyrnarfon* or *Cynarfon*.

au (especially in pl. endings) undergoes the same charge as *ae*, as both have the same pronunciation.

b) *ai*, (*ei*).

In Gwynedd it becomes usually *a*, elsewhere mostly *e* : *cadar*, *cader* (*cadair*); *bigal*, *bigel* (*bugail*) ; *cyflath*, *cyfleth* *cyflaith*; *dima*, *dime* (*dimai*); *feallu* (*feallai*), as in all verbal forms in *-ai*; *simdda*, *simdde* (*simddai* or *simnai* 'chimney'); *siwrna*, *siwrne* (*siwrnai* 'journey'). Cf. Mod. W. *erioed* for M. W. *eiryoet*.

The diphthongization seems to be not of *ai* but of the earlier *ei* in such N. W. forms as :

bychin (*bychain*, pl. of *bychan*); *erill* (*eraill*); *ifinc* (*ieuainc*, pl. of *ieuanc*); *llygid* (*llygaid*, pl. of *llygad*). Cf. the literary forms *bustych*, pl. of *bustach*; *tywyrch*, pl. of *tywarchen*. The endings *-ais*, *aist* of the Aorist have the forms *-as*, *-ast*; *-es*, *-est*; *-is*, *-ist* in different localities.

c) *wy*.

cannwll (*cannwyll*); *morwn* and *morwm* (*morwyn*); *neithiwr* (also literary, for *neithiwr*); *ydw* (*ydwyf* 'I am').

d) *oe*.

In the pl. ending *-oedd* it is pronounced *o* in the spoken language; *ydoedd* is pronounced *ydodd*, and *eisoed*, *eisos*.

e) *yw*.

guriw (*guriyw*); *banw* pl. *bnwod* (for *benyw benywod*?) 'female'.

f) Forms like *llacwedd* (from *llacw*) and *newyddion* (from *newydd*) are sometimes pronounced *llacwaid*, *newaidion*, with the *w* as vowel in both cases.

16. — Contraction of Vowels in W. and Br. :

Examples of contraction, often arising from the loss of an intervocalic consonant or *h*, are fairly common in W. and Br.

A. In Br. :

In *R. C.*, 7, p. 308, the following exs. of contraction are given : — M. Br. *goanac* 'hope' (W. *gofynag*); Léon *gouer*, Vann. *goære* 'a streamlet' (W. *gofer*); Léon *dioveret* 'to be deprived of', Trég. *dioveret* (W. *dioferaf*); Vann. *pléc* (in the compound *tréss-pléc* 'pillow'), Léon *pinéc*, M. Br. *pindec* (W. *plu-og*, with *plu* for *pluf*); M. Br. *ceabrennou* (counted as 3 syllables) 'clouds', *ceññablen* in the *Catholicon*, for **ceññ-cabren*.

To these may be added :

M. Br. (E.) *douar*, *doar* (counted as one syllable) 'earth' / Mod. Br. *keit*, for M. Br. *quehit* (cf. M. Br. chart. *L. Ch. kebedeull*) = W. *cyhyd*, *eyd*; *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) *barn* by the side of *houarn*, O. Br. *boiarn*, W. *baearn* (S. W. *barn*); and *hernin*, O. Br. *hoiernin*, W. *haiernin*; cf. M. Br. *lic*, *licq*, Fr. *laïque*, W. *lleyg*; (the Br. word, like the W., may be form Lat. *laicus*); Trég. *pini* for Léon *pehini*.

B. In W.

Lib. Land. bet (O. W. *behet* hirmain 'as far as the stone'); Mod. W. *cŷd* for *cyhyd* (*Lib. Land. cibit*); *cael* by the side of *caffael* (M. W. *cabel*, *cael*, *caffael*, *caffel*); M. W. *cabat* and *cat*; Mod. W. *cadd* = *cafodd*; *cared* = *cafeydd*; *ceis* = *cejais*;

côd = *cyfod*; *dôd* = *dyfod*; *dwyno* = *difwyno*; *daer* = *daear* (M. W. *dayar*, *dayr*); *dôf* = *deuaf*; *dallt* (dial.) = *deall* (M. W. *dyall*); *gwâdd* = *gwahodd*; *gaeaf*, cf. O. W. *gaem*; *hew* (S. W.) = *heol*; *harn* (S. W.) = *haearn*; *Llŷn* = *Lleyn*; *niwl* = *nifwl*; *paun* from lat. *pavôn-is*; *twyll* (N. W.) = *tywyll*; *twllwch*; *tywyllwch*; *teyrn* for *tëyrn*; *Cymraeg* = *Cymrâeg* (cf. D. G. Hyd yr a'r iaith Gymrâeg | A hyd y tyf haddau teg.).

The denominative suffix *-hau* stands for *ha-u* (cf. O. W. *yscamuhegint*). The M. W. *sarhaad* or *sarhaat* is in Mod. W. *sarhâd*. From the W. loanword from E., *berfa*, there is a derivative *berfâd*, from the loanword *copà* a pl. form *copâu*.

Mod. W. *croen* seems to stand for **crohen* or *crochen*; cf. Br. *krochenn*. In N. W. *gwlaû* stands for *gwelaau* plur. of *gwela*, which must have existed by the side of *gwely*. In the modern E. dial. of Cheshire *goela* still exists.

17. — Haplology in W. and Br. :

A. In Br. :

M. Br. *bez* 'thou art', for **bezez*; *marvod* for *moarvod* = *me a oar er vad* 'I know well' (Ped. § 224). In R. C., 31, p. 136, two other Br. exs. are given : Br. (Trég.) *helibini* (in such an expression as *moñd helibini* 'aller à qui mieux mieux') for *heliwebini* (= ? *e ry web-ini*); Br. (Trég.) *kâb de* 'capable of', with *kâb* for *kapabl* ou *kapapl*, from Fr. *capable*. The place-name *Rostrenen* (M. Br. Chart. *Ros-draenen*, *Ros-trenen*, W. *rhos*, *draenen*) is pronounced *Rostren*.

B. In W. :

caf 'I get, shall have', may be for *cafaf* by haplology, or from *ca-af* through the loss of *f* between vowels; cf. Br. (L. Ch.) *cafaf* 'je trouve'. But M. W. has also *cassaf* by the side of *caf*, which seems to point to two separate forms of the Verb. The different forms of *cael* and *gafael* have been dealt with at length by Prof. Thurneysen in *Ein Freiburger Festgruss zum fünfundzwanzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum (Hermann Osiboff), zum 14. August 1894. Constantinobl* 'Constantinople'

occurs in M. A. p. 328; in *Campau Charlymaen* the form *Carlymaen* is found. In the Mod. M. W. dial. the following forms are used. — *pau* for *papurau* 'papers'; *pau* or *pau* for *parpau*, *parpau* 'to intend', from E. *purpose*; *pau* for *latysen*, singulative form of *latws* from E. 'tatoes = potatoes; *seiat* or *seiad* for **soseiat*, **soseiad* from E. *society*. Cf. N. W. *dyfau* for *diddyfau* 'to wean'.

CONSONANTS

Here will be treated some peculiarities common to W. and Br. of certain initial, medial and final consonants. (For further initial, medial and final changes, see § 30-48.)

18. — I. Initially.

A frequent interchange of voiced and voiceless consonants (mostly 'stops') is noticeable in W. and Br. Some of the changes may be due to the influence of Mutation, others to the direct influence of final sounds in foregoing words.

A. Br. Exs. :

1) Due to no special or direct influence of a neighbouring sound. Many are loanwords.

$d > t$: L. Ch. (M. Br. Chart) *Trech-* in *Trechguoret* (O. Br. *drich*); *Trestan* (cf. W. *Drystan*, *Trystan*; and *Drustagni* found on an inscription); Trég. *tarwed*, plur. form of the M. Br. *daroueden* (W. *tarw(y)den*); L. E. (H.) *talier*, possibly from Fr. *darrière* (later *derrière*).

$t > d$. *dubé* 'a dove' is from O. Fr. *tubé* according to R. C., 23, p. 120.

$b > p$: M. Br. *poesell* 'boisseau' (also M. Br. *boësell*, cf. W. *bwysel* and *pwysel* 'bushel').

$p > b$: M. Br. *baradoez*, *bârados* 'paradise' (W. *paradwys*), but in bas-vann. *paradoes* is still found, see Vann. (Ch.) s. v.; M. Br. *bolot* from Fr. *pelote*; Mod. Br. *bok* (*pok*) 'a kiss'.

$g > k$ (c) : L. E. (H.) has *klisia* from Fr. *glisser*, *kros* from Fr. *gros*, *kiz* (*gîr*) from Fr. *guise*; Tr. has *klagn* (*glagn*, *glann*, W. *glan*); Le Gon. *kowers* (*gouers*, W. *gwers*). The change of

g to *k* is found in some words in the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau (see *R. C.*, 3, p. 235).

c > *g* : Mod. Br. *golc'hed* (O. Br. *colcet*, W. *cylched*) ; M. Br. *gabouat* (*coubat*, Mod. Br. *kaouad*, W. *carwod*, *carwad*) ; M. Br. (E.) *ganivel* 'canivet (canif)' ; Br. *Glaude* 'Claude'. In the dial. of Vannes several words have initial *g* where Léon has *c* (*k*), e. g. Vann. *gorzeun*, *garell* = Léon *corsenn*, *caèrell*.

2) Changes due to the influence of some preceding sound.

a) In the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau the initial *v* of forms of the Verb 'to be' is changed to *f* when immediately preceded by *d* ; see *R. C.*, 3, p. 335, where the following exs. are given *groet mad fou* 'it will be well done', *devead fet* 'you will be late'.

With these may be compared the similar change after *eʒ*, M. Br. *ef fiʒiff* (= *er viʒiff*), *effe* (= *eʒ ve*), *effoe* (= *eʒ voe*). In *L. Ch.* we find *e feo* (= *oz vevo*) 'en train de vivre, vivant'.

b) In the Vann. dial. of Fauoët after *hi* (poss. pron. fem.) the initial consonants *b*, *d*, *g* become *p*, *t*, *c* ; see *R. C.*, 9, p. 273, where the following exs. are given : *hi prec'h* 'her arm' (W. *ei braich*), *hi torn* 'her hand' (W. *ei dwrn*), *hi car* 'her leg'.

c) *d* immediately following an *s* has become *t* in *Ros-trenen*, *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) *Ros-draenen*, *Ros-trenen* from *draen* 'thorn' W. *draen*. Cf. W. *glas-dwr* from *glas* + *ddwr*, Br. *kreteiz* 'mid-day' (*kreiz* + *deiʒ*). In Mod. Br. *d* frequently becomes *t* after *s*, *bennes Toue* (*Doue*, W. *Duw* 'God'), see Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, §§ 9, 10.

B. W. Exs. :

1) Not due to the direct influence of the final sound of a preceding word.

d > *t* : *tychan* or *tuchan* (for *dychan*) ; *tywys-en* 'ear of corn' (Ir. *dias*) ; *tas* 'stack, heap' (O. W. *das*, O. Br. plur. *desi* gl. *acervos*, Mod. Br. *das*, Ir. *dais*) ; *twrdd*, *tordd* 'noise' (Ir. *dord*), *trythyll*, *trythyllwech* (M. W. *drythyll*, Ir. *dretill* and *tretill*) ; *trum* 'ridge' (Ir. *druim*) ; *trem*, *tremyn* (M. W. *dremynt*) ;

tyred 'come thou' (M. W. *dyred*); *tyro* ¹? for *dyro* in M. A. p. 287; *tesni* in the expression *dweyd tesni* 'to tell fortunes' from E. *destiny*; *tyfn* (N. W.) for *dwfn* 'deep'. Among the loanwords from E. cf. *taslio* (E. *dazzle*); *tracht* (in Williams Pantycelyn, for the commoner *dracht*; M. E. *draught*, *draht*); *tyciae* (E. *decay*), *tamp* (E. *damp*), *tip* (E. *dip*); W. S. has *titio* 'endyte', the commoner W. form being *ditio*, which may be from some aphectic form of E. *endite*.

b > *p*: *poed* for *boed* (from *bod* 'to be'). Among the loanwords from E.: *palff* (in B. *Cwsc*)? E. *bluff*; *pastwn* (*pastwn*) E. *baston*; *patwns*? E. *bounce*; *pevel* (N. W.) E. *bevel*; *pit* E. *bit* (of a horse); *pixasio* (dial.) E. 'buse' = *abuse*; *paldaruo* (dial.)? E. *balder* (with the ending *-uo* formed after *rhuo* 'to roar'); *plagiardio* (N. W.) E. *blackguard*; *planced* E. *blanket*; *potel* early E. *hotel* 'a bottle'; *ponc* E. *bank*; *pwysel* (*bwysel*) E. *busbel* (the W. form may be due to the influence of *pwys* 'weight'); *pwnsiad* (*bwnsiad*) E. *bunch*.

p > *b*: The forms *bwci*, *bwysi*, *bwyatwys* are occasionally found for *pwci* (= *pwca*) 'puck', *pwysi* 'posy', *pytatws* 'potatoes'.

g > *c*: *Cwilym* (in some dials.) for *Gwilym* 'William'; among the loanwords from E. the following occur: *cêr* E. *gear* M. E. *gere* (D. G., p. 86 Myn f'enaïd gwiw, afraid *gêr*): *ceriach* is an extended form of *cêr*; *coblyn* E. *goblin*, *corsied*? E. *gorget* in L. G. C. p. 371 *Corsied* o waith ceiroes dur; *cnoi*? E. *gnaw*; *cripio*? E. *grip*; *cropian* E. *grope*; *cwsberis* E. *gooseberries*; *calpian* (N. W.) E. *gallop*; *kwysel* (W. S.) E. *gusset*.

c > *g*: *grisial*, *grisiant* are found side by side with the forms *crisial*, *crisiant*; *grofft*, found in the Mab. (Manawyddan) 'heu *grofft*', may be the E. *croft*. In Cardiganshire there is a mutated form in the place name *Rofft* for Y *Rofft*.

2) Changes due to the influence of a preceding sound.

a) In a M. S. of the Venedotian code of the Laws of Howel Dda *g* is proved to *k*: (1) after the particle *e* (= *y*,

1. In *tyro* the *ty-* may be a trace of the older form of the prefix.

earlier also *yd*), e.g. *ekeill* and *ekeyll*; (2) after the conjunction *o*, e.g. *okeyll*. In *R. B. H.* *d* > *t* after *y* (for *yd*) in 'y duw y tiolchaf' (See *R. C.*, II, p. 68).

In some of the early W. Mss. the *d* of *dau* 'two' becomes *t* after *ill*, as *illdeu* or *illtau*, mostly written as one word.

b) In M. W. the form *athiffero* is found for *a'th ddiffero* 'may (he) protect thee'; *pathawr* = *pa-th-ddawr* 'what does it concern thee'?

Note : — A curious example of the provection of an initial consonant, due to the loss of a vowel and the influence of the following initial consonant, is found in the case of the possessive pronoun *fy*, which becomes often in the colloquial language *f'*, and before *h*, *ll*, or *i* becomes *ff*. In some dialectal texts this *ff* is written, e.g. *fî ff' unan* (for *fî fy hunan*), *ff'llaw* (= *fy llaw*), *ff'iechyd* (= *fy iechyd*). Cf. *cannw(y)ll ffrwyn* the colloquial pronunciation of *cannwyll frwyn*.

19. — An isolated ex. of Br. *ch* from *j* appears in Br. *charoñs* from Fr. *jarosse*.

20. — Initial *R* and *RH* in W. and Br. :

According to Ped. (§ 89), *r* had in Celtic two values, one with 'unlenated' pronunciation, the other with 'lenated' pronunciation. Initially the unlenated *r* became a 'voiceless' sound in W. This, as a rule, is not the case in Br., where *r* has generally no 'voiceless' value. In W., however, it is the general rule, even in loanwords from E., except in the latest borrowings, where initial *r* is often found (e.g. *B. Cwsc recorder* 'recorder', *redi* 'ready'; Huw Morus has *Rowndiad* 'Round-head').

Traces of the same initial voiceless *r* (*rh*) have been found in the Br. dials, e.g. in dial. of Cornouaille (see *R. C.*, 3, p. 492), and in a text written in the dial. of Vann. (viz. a translation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, dating from 1818. See *R. C.*, 11, p. 180). In the Vann. text an *h* is attached to the initial *r* as in W., but it comes before the *r* in the Br. text. Under 'voiced'-mutation, the *h* is dropped leav-

ing only *ř*, as in W. His proves that the form *br* is not a mere orthographical ornament. The forms found are *breit*, *brac* *braccen*; (*e*) *ras*, (*ne*) *rai*, (*e*) *eridas*.

Note : In Eastern S. W. initial *rh* is very seldom heard, the voiced *r* generally taking its place.

21. — Initial *Gw-* and *Chw-* in W. and Br. :

The interchange of *gw-* and *chw-* initially is a peculiar phenomenon in W. and Br. Although the radical and earlier form seems to be *gw* (for **u-*), yet there are one or two words with *chw-* as the probable radical form.

The most noteworthy ex. is *chwaræ* (*chwareu* or *chware*) by the side of older forms with *gw* (*gu*). In the M. W. texts of the Mab. both forms appear, and these not far apart, In O. W. the form with *gu-* is prevalent, e.g. O. W. *guarai*, *guaroïou*. M. W. has *chware*, *gware* (verb and subs. with pl. *gwaryen*), M. Br. *hoari*, Mod. Br. *c'hoari*; M. W. *gwarwyfa* (D. G. Dug *warwyfa'n* digrifwch), Mod. W. *chwareuja(n)* 'playground'. O. W. has *guc* in the Gododdin l. 1041 *guc a guero* 'sweet and sour' (M. Br. *huc* and *chuc*, Mod. Br. *c'houec*), M. W. and Mod. W. *chweg*; *guero* is M. W. and Mod. W. *chwerw* (O. Ir. *serb* with *s* for *su*, M. Br. *hueru*, *huero*). Lib. Land. has *chuith* and *guith*; O. W. *guardam*, Mod. W. *chwerthin* (*chwarddaf* 'I smile') M. Br. *huerzin*, Mod. Br. *c'hoerzin*. In the W. dialects, however, *gwerthin* is found for *chwerthin*; cf. also *Gwefrol* for *Chwefrol* (*Chwefror*); *damchwain* by the side of *damwain*; (*g*)*wedyn* and *chwedyn*; *gwedi* and *chwedi*; *gwibod* and *chwibod* 'gnats'.

An ex. among the loanwords from Lat. is *chwysigen*, for which *gwysigen* is also found, M. Br. *buysiguenn*, O. Br. *huisicou* (gl. papulas). Lat. *vēsica*. Stokes (Br. Gl. O. s. v. *huisicou*) compares W. *chwannen*, Br. *choanenn* with the German *Wanze*.

The M. Br. (E.) *goagren* 'petite glande entre la chair et le cuir' seems to be related to W. *chwaren* of the same meaning. The W. *gweryru* 'to neigh' appears to be connected with Br. *c'houirinaden* and *gourrisiaden* 'a neighing' (For the pronunciation of *gou-* and *c'hou-* in the various Br. dialects see R. C. 18, pp. 236 sqq.).

22. — With the foregoing may be compared the interchange of initial *g* and *c'b* in Breton, when not followed by a consonantal *w*; e. g.:

gallout and *ballout* 'to be able', W. *gallu*; *c'house* 'to eat', *c'housa*,¹ 'nourishment', supposed to be derived from the O. Fr. popular form *gousser* 'to eat'.

There may also be compared the W. initial *ch* arising from *qu-* of E. and Lat., e. g. *chwarthawr* in *R. B. H.*, p. 281 (*Kallhweh ac Olwen*), from Lat. *quartarius*; *chwart*, E. *quart*; *chwarel*, E. *quarrel*; *chwarter*, E. *quarter*; *chwitans*, E. *quiltance*; M. W. *Chweintus* 'Quintus'.

E. *web-* becomes W. *chw-*, e. g. *D. G.* 'Gildiad, nid *chweitwasad* hallt', E. *whitewash*; *W. S.* *chwarfan* 'a wharve'; *chweip* 'whip', *chweislo* (dial.) 'to whistle'.

This change occurs in W. itself in such a dial. form as *chweidan* < **bweidan* < *bweyaden* 'duck', pl. *chweid*.

23. — Initial *Gw-* in W. and Br. :

Initial *Gw-* followed by a vowel or by liquids and nasals present various peculiarities of like nature in W. and Br.

1) When followed by some vowels, the *gw* tends to absorb the vowel, the *w* becoming a vowel. But when followed by *o*, the *gw* generally loses the consonantal *w*, and the *o* remains intact. This is not always the case, however, as the *gyo-* sometimes interchanges with *gua-*, e. g. W. *gwas-god*, Br. *gwasked*, Ir. *foscad*; W. *golchi* but Br. *gwalc'hi*; cf. M. W. (Black Book) (g)*woscordd*, Mod. W. *goscordd* (See *R. C.*, 29, p. 68); W. *gwastad*, M. Br. *goustadic*, Mod. Br. *gouestadic*; Br. *Gl. O. gutric*, W. *godrig*; the Br. intensive prefix *gour-* corresponds to W. *gor-* (in *gormod*, *gorddyfn* etc.). Cf. further W. *gwr*, Br. *gour*; W. *gwn*, Br. *gonn* (Trég.), (M. W. has *gudaw*, *gudaw* etc. — Mod. W. *gwyddom* *gwyddoch*); W. *gwobr*, Br. *gobr*, *gopr*; W. *gwedi*, Br. *goude*; W. *gweli*, Br. *goutly*; W. *gorchymyn*, Br. *gour'hemenn*; W. *goudy* (O. W. *gualdimisanch*), Br. *gouçaff*; W. *gertaith*, Ir. *fortacht*.

In spoken W. the loss of a vowel is common, the *w*

becoming a vowel, e. g. *gwnnu* for *gwynnu*; cf. *Sulgwn* for *Sulgwyn*.

There is a tendency in the N. W. dial. to drop the *w* in such words as *gialam* (*gwialen*); *gialchan* (for *gwialchen* for *mevalchen*), cf. *chi* (for *chwi*), *chadal* (for *chvedl*).

In Br. and W. an *w* or *o* appears sometimes to have been added superfluously, e. g. M. Br. *goarnison* by the side of *garnison*: Fr. *garnison*; cf. *galern* and *gualern* in R. C., 27, p. 223; Le Gon. *gwaremm* 'garenne'. In W. we find *gwalab* 'gallop' in *W. S.*, and in *Bown o Hamtwn*, p. 142 a cherdet *gwalop y danaw*.

2) When *gu-* is followed by *l*, *n*, or *r* we may have either

- a) Metathesis, *gul*, *gun*, *gur* > *glu*, *gnu*, *gru*,
- or b) Loss of *u* altogether;
- or c) *u* becoming a vowel.

a) Metathesis.

In Br. : *gloat* (W. *gwlad*) ; *gloeb* (W. *gwlyb*) ;
gluiẏ (W. *gwliθ*) ; *groec*, *gruac* (W. *gwraig*) ;
gloan (W. *gwlan*) ; *groac'h* (W. *gwraçh*).

In W. : It occurs mostly in the N. W. dial., where the combinations *gur-*, *gul-*, *gun-* are pronounced *grw-*, *glw-*, *gnw-*, but the *w* is pronounced more or less simultaneously with the *r*, *l*, *n*; e. g. *glwad* (*gwlad*) ; *glwith* (*gwliθ*), *glwân* (*gwlan*), *grwaig* (*gwraig*), *gnwïo* (*gnwïo*).

Some traces of this pronunciation are found in the Venedotian Code of the Laws of Howel, e. g. *gruac*, *gruaget*, *gluad* (for Mod. W. *gwraig*, *gwraçedd*, *gwlad*).

b). Total loss of the *u*.

In Br. : *gra* (by the side of *groa*, W. *gwna*) ; *greg* by the side of *groec*, *gruac* ; *gleb* (O. Br. *rogulipias*, M. Br. *gleb*, *gloeb*, Trég. *gloeb*. Léon has *gleb* and *gloeb*) ; *gliẏ* by the side of M. Br. *gluiẏ*, W. *gwliθ* ; *griat* (M. Br. *gruyat*, Vann. *gouriat*). M. Br. has *glat* and *gloat*, pl. *gladou* ; *grac'h* and *groac'h*.

In W. : The change is perceptible mainly in the mod. spoken language, e. g. :

1. Apparent only, as Breton here really shows traces of the older Fr. pronunciation.

gnâf (*gwnaf*), *grondo*, *grando* (*gwrando*), *glaw* (*gwlaw*; but *glaw* is an early literary form), *glŷb*, *glybwr* (*gwlyb*, *gwlybwr*), *gneud* (*gwnneud*) etc. Cf. *grafun* for *gwrarafun* for *gwarafun*. In *grug* we have a literary form for **gwrug* (O. I., *froích*). In Pembrokeshire, however, it is pronounced *gwrug*. In the district around Llanidloes one hears *glád* (*gwlád*), *graig* (*gwraig*).

c) The *u* becoming a vowel *u*.

In Br. this seems to be the case in a word like Vann. *gouriat*, M. Br. *gruyat* 'made'.

In W. it occurs in parts of S. W. in such forms as *gwnïo* (two syllables) for *gwnïo*, *gwniadur*. In Carmarthenshire the common form is *gwynïo*.

24. — Initial *H* in W. and Br. :

This initial letter seems to have been the most unstable of all in W. and Br.

Early initial *s* in native words, and the initial *s* of Latin gave in W. and Br. *s* and *h*; sometimes *s* in both and *h* in both; sometimes *s* in one and *h* in the other, and vice versa; sometimes *s* and *h* in both. For exs. see Ped. §§ 47, 135.

The forms with *h* initially sometimes drop and sometimes retain the *h*, without any special reason. Occasionally *h* is added to a word beginning with a vowel, without any apparent etymological reason, being, no doubt, partly orthographical.

The lack of stability on the part of initial *h* dates from the very earliest period of W. and Br. Exs. :

O. W. *hyshaf* (Mod. W. *isaf*), O. W. *ha* (M. W. *ha(c)*, Mod. *a(c)*), O. W. *ocoluin* (Mod. W. *hogalen* but M. W. *agalen*, M. Br. *hygoulen*, Mod. Br. *bigolenn*, Vann. *biguolenn*), O. W. *hint*, *int* (Mod. W. *hynt*), O. W. *ho* (Mod. W. *o*), O. W. *anter-metetic* (M. W. *anber*, *hanber*, Mod. W. *banner*); W. and Br. have *oll*, *holl* 'all'; M. W. *wy* (*hwy*), *wynt* for later *hwy*, *hwynt*.

Further traces of the indecision with regard to initial *h* may be seen from the following :

Breton : L. Ch. (O. Br. Chart.) *Haethlon*, *Hethlon*, *Aithlon*; (? W. *aeth*); L. Chr. (M. Br. Chart.) *acl*, *baclon* (W. *acl*); *Ambedr*, *Hamberd*¹? *argant*², *barchant*; *he* = *e* 'his, its'; M. Br. *emolc'h* *hemolc'h*; *herr* (from Fr. *erre*); *heruez*, *erwez*; *hogos* (W. *agos*); *honest*, *onest*; *hostes*, *ostes* (but *ospital*, *ipocrisy*, *isop*); *hoguen* (W. *og-faen*); *huzel*, *hudel*, *udel* (W. *buddygl*). in L. Ch. we find *bevelep*, *evelep*; *hep*, *ep*; *oll*, *holl*; *oz*, *hoz*; *o*, *ho*.

Welsh :

In W. the same indecision obtains, especially in the dials. In N.W. *bagos* (*agos*), *henw* (*enw*; *henw* also occurs in M. W.); *hogla* (*arogl*), *hepil* (*epil*). In eastern S. W. *h* is frequently dropped, and sometimes an inorganic *h* is added, e. g. *ardd* (*hardd*), *ên* (*hên*), *hyfed* (*yfed*), *hadref* (*adref*), *haraf* (*araf*), *hirwellt* (*irwellt*).

In connection with initial *h* in the E. words borrowed into W. the following may be quoted from *E. E. P.* p. 220 : « The question concerning *h* is simply, when was it mute? Palsgrave says *h* is mute in *honest*, *honour*, *habundance*... » *W. S.* says that *h* is mute in « *honest*, *habitation*, *humble*, *habite*, *honoure* ».

As a general rule, initial *h* of E. is preserved in W. In a few words, however, the *h* seems to have been mute in early E. or non-existent in some words where *h* appears in Mod. E.

W. *onest* (*gonest*, E. *honest*), *oribl* in *L. G. C.* p. 165. 'Hed cred ac anghred a'u gwyr yn *oribl*' (E. *horrible*), *ostes* (E. *hostess*) in *Cym. Llên Cym.*, II, p. 22 '*Ostes*, llenwch win', *ostler* (E. *hostler*, *ostler*) found in *D. G.*, *llar* (E. *Hilary*, M. E. *Hyllare*) in *L. G. C.*, p. 30 'Dewi, Non, Elis, Dwywnwen, *llar*'.

We have seen above (§ 18 B. 2) how *f* (for *fy*) becomes *ff* before a following *h*, as in' *ff'human* or *ff'unan* for *fy human*. With this we may compare Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 13 :

1. O. Br. *Am-*.

2. W. *arian(t)*.

3. In Fr., the Latin *h* was, of course, mute throughout from earliest times.

« Les consonnes fortes et faibles peuvent s'échanger à la fin des mots. D'ordinaire les faibles dominent devant une voyelle initiale, et les fortes devant un *h*, qui alors ne se prononce pas ».

Initial *h* arising in some cases of 'mutation' is regular in W., and is not unfrequently found in Br. also. This case of aspirate-mutation occurs in W. after the poss. pron. fem. *ei* 'her', e. g. *ei henw* 'her' name'. A trace of the same kind of *h* is seen in Br. in the dial. of Vann. (Canton de Guémené-sur-Scorff) e. g. *i halhwe* 'her key', but *i alhwe* 'his key'. It is said to occur also in the dials. of Cornouaille and Trég. (see *R. C.*, 17, p. 39).

W. also shows an aspirate-mutation of *n*, *m*, and *w*. This is even mentioned in some grammars, and is found occasionally in Mod. W. literature, e. g. *ei mhynwes*, *ei nbain*, *ei whig* (see *Y Beirniad*, Vol. II, p. 163. Hydref 1912). In the spoken language of N. W. *nh*, *mh*, *wh* are almost universally pronounced after *ei* 'her'. The cases with *wh* are all found in the E. loanwords.

The mutation of *m* to *mh* after *ei* 'her' is also found in Br. (in the dial. of Faouët, Haute-Cornouaille), where the *m* sounds more like a 'surd' than a 'sonant' (See *R. C.*, 17, p. 421). For further changes in initial consonants see §§ 30-33.

25. II. — Medially.

Here will be mentioned only the exs. of changes in medial consonants in W. and Br. where normally they would not be expected to appear.

A. In Br. :

1) Exs. of voice less consonants for voiced, generally in loanwords from Fr.

akloueten (Fr. *aguillette*, *L. E. (H.)*); *atêrsein* (Fr. *s'adresser* *L. E. (H.)*); *tumpa* (O. Fr. *tumber* 'tomber') and *tumporell* (Fr. *tombereau*) *R. C.*, 7, p. 144; *ocmantin* (in 'da *ocmantin* he gloar' = *d'augmenter sa gloire*, *R. C.*, 9, p. 162); *vacabont*

(in 'evel eur *vacabont*' = comme un *vagabond*, R. C., 11, p. 308).

2) Voiced for voiceless, e. g.

Tr. has *kabiten* (Fr. *capitaine*), *kaboun* (Fr. *chapon*), *kabusin* (Fr. *capucin*), *sagrist* and *sakrist* (Fr. *sacristain*); L. E. (H.) has *gobédi* (O. Fr. *copeter* 'copter'), *tragas* (Fr. *tracas*); Le Gon. *ovis* and *ofis* (Fr. *office*), *tabes* (Fr. *tapis*); *podaich* (Fr. *potage*).

Some of these forms may be due to an attempt to give the words a native appearance, as voiceless consonants between vowels are comparatively late in Br. and W.

Intervocalic *s* seems to have acquired a voiced (ζ) sound early in Br. Sometimes ζ is found written, e. g. *frenesy* and *freneszy* (Fr. *frénésie*¹) in the 18 th. C., but there are exs. from a still earlier period (see footnote R. C., 15, p. 390).

On the other hand, the ζ of M. Br. appears as *d* in some Mod. Br. dialects. e. g. the dial. of Cornouaille has *predek*, *beudein* for M. Br. *prezec*, *beuziff*; dial. of Trég. has *hidio*, *didiou* for M. Br. *hiziou*, *diiziou*; dial. of Léon has *bargdoz* for M. Br. *barazoez*.

B. In W. :

1) Voiceless for voiced.

In parts of S. W. voiceless consonants appear between vowels, where in other dialects the voiced equivalents appear. This takes place mostly in the Gwentian dial. (East Glamorgan and Monmouth). Prof. Rhys does not regard these as exactly voiceless, but as lying somewhere between the voiceless and the voiced; e. g. *rytag* (*rbedeg*), *ffetog* (*ar-ffedog*), *creti* (*credu*), *otiw* (*ydwyyf*), *preath* (*pregeth*), *gwetodd* (*dywedodd*), *acor* (*agor*), etc.

In literary W. a voiced consonant coming before another consonant or consonantal *y*, *i*, is generally written in its voiceless form, e. g. *atgof*, *atgas*, *Coetmor* (*Coed-Mawr*), M. W. *eturyt* (= *edfryd* from *adferyd*); *llygatddu* and *llygatu* (from

1. The Fr. *s* in this case would, of course, be voiced.

lygad-ddu) *llygatlast* (*llygad-las*); M. W. *atwaen*. (Mod. W. *adwaen*); *neitio*, *neitiwr* (L. G. C. *Neitiwr* dros afon *ytoëdd*. The form *neitio* is used in the Anglesey dial.) cf. *atoleg* (from *adolwyn*). After the numeral *dau* in compounds there is no mutation in the words *deutu*, *deuparth*, *deupeth*, *oddeutu*.

In M. W. we find *ythiw*, *ydiw*; *ytynt*, *ydynt*; *yttwyf*, *ydwyf*; *ytloed*, *ydoed*¹, for the Mod. W. *ydyw*, *ydynt*, *ydwyf*, *ydoedd* (cf. Gwentian *otw*, *otuch* for *ydwyf*, *ydych*); M. W. *anghenocid* from *anghenog*.

Among the loanwords from the following may be exs.: *cocas* (M. E. *cogges*), *Etwart* (*Edward*, R. B. H., II, p. 377), *Etwain* (*Edwin*, R. B. H., II, p. 266), *Gotwin* (*Godwin*, R. B. H., II, p. 267), *petigryw* (E. *pedigree*, in L. G. C. At y gwraidd a'i *phetigryw*), *picyn* (E. *piggin*), *wteniff* (E. *woode(n)knife*, in *Iolo Goch*, p. 314), *wtwart* and *wdwart* (E. *woodward*; D. G. has *wdwart* in 'Teg *wdwart* feistr tew goedallt, p. 231, but Ed. Lhuyd has *wtwart*), *tricar* (dial.) (E. *trigger*).

The forms *cocas*, *picyn*, *tricar*, and *clupa* (M. E. *clobbe*) may have developed the *c*, *p* from the E. *gg*, *bb*.

A case of *dd* (*ð*) becoming *d* is seen in W. *gweddrod* and *gwedrod* (pl. form, from E. *wether*). *gweddrod* is the usual form, but *gwedrod* is found in *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* p. 147 'Wedi rhoit ti *wedrod* da' (Ieuan Deulwyn), where the *cyngbanedd* shows that the pronunciation is *d*.

cf. the Lat. loanwords *paradwys* (*paradisus*), *pedestr* (*pedestr-is*), *pedol* (*pedāl-is*), and the S. W. dial. form *ithi* for *iddi* 'to her', due probably to *hi* 'her' which generally follows.

2) Voiceless becoming voiced.

Probable exs. are the following from among the loanwords from E.:

adargop, *adyrgop* (E. *attercop*); *boglyn* (? M. E. *bocle*); *burgyn* (? E. *morkin*); *candleis* in L. G. C. (? Early E. *gantelets*); *fladyr* (W. S.) (E. *flatter*); *ffradri* in M. A. p. 35 (? E. *fratry*, *fratery*); *gardas* in Mod. W., *gartys* in W. S.,

1. These double M. W. forms probably arose from different forms of the suffix itself.

gardr, sing., in *L. G. C.* p. 474 (E. *garters*); *lladmerydd* (E. *latimer*); *plagiardio* (dial.) (E. *blackguard*, where the *ck*, however, is not pronounced); *potegari W. S.* (E. *apothecary*); *ysbignardd*, *Medd. Mydd.* p. 202 (E. *spikenard*); *ysgoblar* in *D. G.* p. 150 'Esgoblun mewn *ysgablar*' (? E. *scapular*).

26. III. — Finally.

A. Final Mutes.

1) In Br.

The modern rule with regard to final mediae and tenues is given in Ernault's *Petite Grammaire bretonne*, p. 13 : « Les consonnes fortes et faibles peuvent s'échanger à la fin des mots. D'ordinaire les faibles dominant devant une voyelle initiale, et les fortes devant un *h*, qui alors ne se prononce pas ».

In M. Br., however, as in M. W., the rule was to write the voiceless consonant in the final position in words where Mod. Br. both the voiced and voiceless forms are found. But when an ending (as of the plural or feminine) was added to the voiceless final consonant, the voiceless became voiced. Hesitation with regard to this change can be discerned in a form like *coatdou*, plur. of *coat* 'wood' in *R. C.*, 8, p. 260, 'dre an *lcoatdou*' (par les bois), and in the M. Br. *tatdou*, plur. of *tat* 'father'. Even in M. Br., however, we get fluctuations, e. g. *mat* and *mad* ; *stoup* and *stoub* ; *tat* and *tad*.

The treatment of these single final consonants in the loanwords from Fr. is as follows :

a) A Fr. voiced final consonant *may* appear in Br. as voiceless, except when a suffix is added.

b) A Fr. voiceless final consonant *may* appear in Br. as voiced (as well as voiceless), but always voiced if a suffix be added.

a) *camarat* (Fr. *camarade*) in *R. C.*, 26, p. 212 ; *malat* (Fr. *malade*) in *R. C.*, 15, p. 357 ; M. Br. *homicit* (Fr. *homicide*) ; *Herot* (Fr. *Hérode*) in *R. C.*, 10, p. 23 ; M. Br. *muscat* (Fr. *mus-*

cade); M. Br. *remet* (Fr. *remède*) and cf. *R. C.*, 8, p. 488 *Dal vn taol flem heb remet* (Tenez un coup d'aiguillon sans retard); *L. E. (H.) rok* (Fr. *rogue*); M. Br. *synagoc* (Fr. *synagogue*); M. Br. *ribaut* (Fr. *ribaude*) but *ribaude* (fem.).

b). *L. E. (H.)* has *chipod* (Fr. *chipote*), *fured* (Fr. *furet*), *lôd* (Fr. *lot*, M. Br. *lot*), *roched* (Fr. *rochet*); Tr. has *boked* (Fr. *bouquet*), *bouled*, *boulet* (Fr. *boulet*), *ermid* (Fr. *ermite*); Le Gon. has *sôt*, *sôd* (Fr. *sot*); M. Br. (E.) has *huc* (Fr. *hucque*), *pic* (Fr. *pic*), *soup* (Fr. *soupe*), *stat* (Fr. *état*), *stoub*, *stoup* (Fr. *étoupe*). Cf. *R. C.*, 2, p. 82 *pod* (Fr. *pot*), p. 224 *salud* (Fr. *salut*); p. 240 *boned* (*bönnel*); *R. C.*, 3, p. 68 *pilad* (Fr. *pilat*); *R. C.*, 8, p. 462 *stoub* (Fr. *étoupe*); *R. C.*, 4, p. 60 *plad* (Fr. *plat*), p. 99 *avokad* (Fr. *avocat*).

The voiced consonant when a suffix is added :

M. Br. *advocadez*, *fagoden* (Fr. *fagot*), *gargadenn* (O. Fr. *gargate*), *rudet* (Fr. *rut*), *seruiedenn* (Fr. *serviette*), *stadou*, plur. of *stat* (fr. *état*), *scodenn* (Fr. *escot*), *planedou* (Fr. *planètes*), see also the same form in *R. C.*, 8, p. 234; Mod. Br. *loden* (Fr. *lot*), *mouden* (Fr. *motte*), *souben* (Fr. *soupe*) in *R. C.*, 2, p. 80 *souben ar c'hik* (*soupe de viande*), M. Br. has also *souben*.

One exception appears to be M. Br. *moten* for the later *mouden* (Fr. *motte*), mentioned in *L. E. (H.)*.

Note : With the above mentioned interchange of voiced and voiceless mutes may be compared the frequent interchange in Br. of *-aig*, *-aich* (with soft *g* and *ch*) from the Fr. ending *-age*.

2). In W. :

The fate of the final stops in W. presents several points of similarity to that of Br. stops. In W. the final tenues did not hold out so long and so late as in Br. (being kept in the latter, as we have seen, even up to modern times). It is difficult, however, to conclude finally at what period the final tenues of W. became medial. In the M. W. texts they are generally written as tenues, with the exception of the labial, which has the forms *b* and *p*. This practice is kept up by *W. S.* (16th. c.) in his *Welsh-English Dictionary*. It may have

heen in his time merely the traditional mode of writing ; but even *W. S.* writes monosyllables containing long vowels with the voiced consonant, e. g. *koob* (E. *cope*) and *pib*.

Here are, however, proofs as early as the 14th. c. in the works of *D. G.* that in some cases at least, the final voiced mutes of Mod.W. were also voiced at that period, e. g. :

D. G. p. 33. *Gweled ei gwallt fel gold gwiw.*

D. G. p. 217. 'Y nghred brelad afradlawn.

The *d* of 'gweled' corresponds in *Cynghanedd* to the *d* of 'gold' which is the E. *gold*. (There are, however, cases of final *ld* of E. becoming *lt* in W., e. g. *hwswolt* in *L. G. C.* p. 460, (E. *household*) by the side of *hwswold*, p. 195 ; but the form *gold* is the W. form of the word throughout, as in *gold y' gors* 'marsh marigold'). The final *d* of 'brelad' from 'prelad' (E. *prelate*) corresponds to the *d* of 'afradlawn', which, being medial, was certainly a *d*.

In any case, in the E. loanwords in W. when an ending was added, the consonants took the voiced form at a very early period :

D. G. p. 52 *Fflacedau a phlu coedydd* (E. *flagket*).

p. 284 *Cliciedyn yn cloi ceudawd* (E. *clicket*).

In the case of some loanwords from E. the final voiceless stop is retained even in the modern language.

The question of the final stops has been dealt with to some extent by Sir John Rhys in his 'All Around the Wrekin' [*Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XXI, pp. 32 sqq.].

The treatment of the E. loanwords from W. may be thus classified.

a) Those that retain the final voiceless consonant.

b) Those that changed the final voiceless consonant into a voiced consonant.

a) *côt* (E. *coat*), *grât* (E. *gate*), *llac* (E. *slack*), *siop* (E. *shop*), etc.

These words are mostly those of one (short) syllable in E.

Note :— The change of single final voiced consonants to voiceless, so common in Br., is practically unknown in W., unless the word *nutmic* E. *nutmygge*, given by *W. S.* be a

case in point. The Mod. E. is *nutmeg*. Here, however, the *c* may have arisen from the E. *gg.* (cf. *picyn*, *clwpa*, § 25 B 1); cf., however, W. *antarliwt*, *intarliwt* from E. *interlude*, and dial. *teit* from E. *tide*.

b) This change seems to have taken place

1. in words of more than one syllable.
2. in monosyllables containing a long vowel.

Exs. : *abid* (M. E. *abit*) in *D. G.* pp. 48, 207; *gwalab* *W. S.* (E. *gallop*), *basged* (E. *basket*), *bwned* in *L. G. C.* (E. *bonnet*), *bilwg* (E. *bill-hook*), *casog* (E. *cassock*), *casged* in *L. G. C.* p. 295 (E. *casket*), *clared* (E. *claret*), *carped* (E. *carpet*), *clieid* (E. *clicket*), *dwbled* (E. *doublet*), *ermid* in *M. A.* p. 258 (E. *hermit*), *garlleg* (E. *garlic*; *W. S.* has *garllec* 'garleke'), *fioled* (E. *violet*), *ffagod* (E. *faggot*), *micwsig* (E. *music*), *proffid* in *D. G.*, p. 247 (E. *profit*), *ysgarlad* (E. *scarlet*, M. E. *scarlat*) etc.

koob in *W. S.*, i. e. *côb* (E. *cope*), *siêb* in *D. G.*, 'Bronbelau fel Siopau *siêb*' (E. *Cheap*. i. e. Cheap-Side, London), *côd* and *côt* (E. *coat*), *clôg* (E. *cloak*), *fflyd* (E. *fleet*, in sense of 'crowd'), *crwg* (E. *crook*), *grôd* in *L. G. C.* p. 327 (E. *groat*), *ystâg* in *L. G. C.* p. 495 'Main wâg ei *ystâg*...' (E. *stake*).

B. Changes in some final consonantal groups containing mutes.

27. — 1) In some loanwords from Fr. into Br. the voiced stop became voiceless in the groups *ldr*, *mbr*, *br*, *bl*.

Exs. : *foultr* (O. Fr. *fouldre*), *lampr* (Fr. *lambre*), *mempr* (Fr. *membre*) in *R. C.*, 2, p. 364, *nompr* (*nombre*) in *R.*, *C.*, 8, p. 88, *possipl* (Fr. *possible*) in *R. C.*, 9, p. 162. Cf. *campraou* (Fr. *chambres*) in *R. C.*, 10, p. 5, *puplian* (Fr. *publier*) in *R. C.*, 26, p. 310, *humplan*, superl. (Fr. *humble*) and *senclou* (Fr. *sangles*) in *L. Ch.*

The only probable example of this change in W. is the M. W. *taplas*, which may be from E. *tables*.

In M. Br. there are traces of the opposite change of *pl*, *pr* to *bl*, *br*, e. g. :

M. Br. (E.) *coubl*, *coublaff* (Fr. *couple*, *coupler*), *poubr* (Fr. *pourpre*). Cf. M. Br. (E.) *squerb* (? Fr. *écharpe*).

28. — 2) Breton shows a tendency to change final *-ng* of loanwords to *nc* (*ñk*)¹, e. g. :

M. Br. (E.) *barinc* 'hareng', Vann. (Ch.) *baranc* 'harang' pl. *barancquet* (Fr. *harangue*); M. Br. (E.) *reng*, 'rang', L. E. (H.) *renk* 'rang'. (O. Fr. *reng*); L. E. (H) *stañk* (Fr. *étang* for earlier *estang*). Tr. has *stang* and *stañk*. Cf. R. C., 23, p. 234, 'war ar *stank* ma kann he dilled' (Sur l'étang où elle lave ses vêtements).

For further remarks on Br. *ng*, *ñk*, see R. C., 19, p. 323.

The change of *ng* to *nc* (i. e. *ngc*) is not unknown to W. e. g. :

rhenc by the side of *rheng* 'a rank, row', W. S. has *renc* 'a reнге'; M. E. *reng*, *rengе*, *rengge*;

ystanc by the side of *ystang* (*stanc*, *stang*), E. *stang*, M. E. *stange*.

It is noticeable, however, that in the E. dialects of Shropshire and Montgomery the form *stank* is found (See English Dialect Dictionary s. v.). This may be due to the W. form.

Note 1. E. final *ng* in such words as *long* was equivalent to *ng-g* at an early period in the language. The *g* after the nasal (*ng*) was heard throughout the M. E. period. In Early New E. the *g* was lost except when a vowel followed, as is the case in Mod. E.

Note 2. The change of *nc* to *ng* is common in W. when a suffix is added, e. g. *crafanc*, *crafangau*; *tranc*, *trengi*; *ieuanc* *ieuengaf*; M. W. *ranc*, *rengi* (Mod. W. *rhyngu*). But cf. *llanc*, *llanciau*; *pranc*, *pranciau*; *banc*, *banciau*; *llwnc*, *llyncu* (but *llyng-yren*).

III. 29. — Final *nd*, *rd* of loanwords in W. and Br.

1) In Br. :

1. Possibly this change did not take place in Breton itself, but may be really only the reflexion of the O. Fr. pronunciation with final *ñk*.

In M. Br. the final *nd*, *rd* of Fr. appear as a rule with final *t*. When a suffix was added the *t* was sometimes retained and sometimes changed to *d*. In Mod. Br., forms with *d* and *t* are common in native and in borrowed words. For the treatment of medial *nd* see § 39.

Exs.:

a) Fr. *rd*: M. Br. (E.) has *astandard* O. Fr. *estandard* 'bâtard' (but fem. *bastardes*); *Bernart* 'Bernard'; *bombart* 'bombarde'; *couart* 'couard' (but *couardis* 'couardise'); *goart* 'garde'; *lart* 'lard'; *leopart* 'léopard'; *loubart* 'lombard' (but fem. *loubardes*); *nort* 'nord'; *papellart* 'papelard'; *pillard* 'pillard'; *pailhart* 'paillard'.

Cf. Vann. (Ch.) *lourt* 'lourd', *bourd* 'bourde' (but *bourden*) *goart* (plur. *goardet*), *poignart* 'poignard'.

b) Fr. *nd*: M. Br. (E.) has *blont* 'blond', *blondaff* 'être blond'; *bout*, *bount* 'bonde'; *brigantet* 'brigands' (but cf. *brigandinou* 'brigandines'); *diuergont* 'dévergondé'; *hoppelant* 'houppelande'; *kalent* 'calende', (but cf. *kalander* 'calendrier'); *legent* 'légende'; *prebent* 'prébende' (but *prebander* 'prébendier'); cf. M. Br. *amanlifu* 'amender'; *fout* 'fond'; *reverant* 'révérend'; *alamandes* 'amandes', O. Fr. *almande-s* (Mod. Br. *alamantes*, *alamāndes*, Vann. *almantes*); *confuntaff* 'confondre'; *quintaff* 'Uuinder'; *lander* 'landier'; *ront* (Vann.) 'rond'; *sukrcantîn* (Tr.) 'sucre candi'.

2. In W.:

In many loanwords from E. final *rd*, *nd* appear in W. as *rt*, *nt*.

a) E. *nd*. W. *almant* 'almond' (M. E. *almand*); *dimwent*, *diemwnt*, *daimawnt* 'diamond'; *Edmwnt*, *Emwnt* 'Edmund'; *dromwnt* 'dromond'; *gerlant*, *gerlont*, *gerlawnt* 'garland' (M. E. *ger(e)lande*); *grwnt* 'ground' in *L. G. C.* p. 249; *Hollant* 'Holland' (a personal name in *C. Coch MSS.* p. 249 'Mis Rhagfyr fu gur i gant | Aruthr hwyl yr aeth *Hollant*');

1. In this case Fr. had also a form in *a*.

Inglont, *Northwembyrlont*, *Gottlont*, *Islont*, *Ysgottlont*, 'England, Northumberland, Gothland, Iceland, Scotland'; *lawnt*, *llawnt* 'a lawn, lawnd'; *marsiant* 'merchant' (M. E. *marchand*); *Rhismawnt* 'Richmond'; *sawnt* 'sand' (M. E. *sonde*), *stont* (dial.) from E. *stand*.

b) E. *rd*.

W. *barlat* (? for *balart*) 'mallard'; *baeart* 'a bayard' in *L. G. C.* p. 341; *baslart* 'baselard'; *bastart* 'bastard'; *bort* (M. E. *borde*) in *Iolo MSS.* p. 325 'Un gost gwin a rhost yn rhydd | Ywch dwyfort chwi a Dafydd', p. 326. *Llyfr teg radd yr holl fort gron*'; *cort* 'a cord, chord' in *Iolo Goch*, *Elis Wyn*; *cwpuwt* (also *cwpuwdd*) 'cupboard' in *L. G. C.* p. 95 'Dy gwpuwt dy gwrtd...'; *cwstart* 'custard' (*W. S.* has *kwstart*); *Edwart* 'Edward'; *vowart* 'vaward, vanguard' in *L. G. C.* p. 35; *ffwlbart*, *ffwlbert* M. E. *folmarde*; *godart* (ca *goddard*), (a plur. form *godardau* in *B. Cwsc*); *gwart* 'ward, guard' in *D. G.* 442; *halbart* ? 'halberd' in *C. Coch MSS.* p. 309; *llewpart* 'leopard' (*D. G.* rhymes it with *dart*. *W. S.* has *llewpard*). We have a curious form *llewpartdiaid* in *Ystori yr Olew Bendigaid* p. 326, which probably shows that the *t* was voiced inside a word, cf. *godardau* in *B. Cwsc* by the side of the sing. *godart*); *mwstart* 'mustard' in *Medd, Mydd*, p. 23; *rhywart* 'reward' in *L. G. C.* p. 249; *Rhisiart* 'Richard'; *stiwart* is the N. W. dial. form of E. *steward*, having in pl. *stiwardiaid*; *stondart* 'standard' in *L. G. C.* p. 61; *wdwart* and *wtwart* 'wood-ward' in *L. G. C.* p. 239.

Besides the above changes there was also a change of final *ld* of E. to *lt* in W. in some words, e. g. *gilt* in *L. G. C.* p. 117 *cael gilt hefyd*. meaning 'payment' (the word *gild* occurs in E. with the meaning 'a payment' or 'tax'); *hwswolt* 'household' in *L. G. C.* p. 460 (but on p. 195 *hwswold* occurs); *molt* ? 'mould' M. E. *molde*, in *L. G. C.* p. 305 'Mal tir iarll a molt teirllys'.

In some words E. final *rd* appears as *rdd* (and occasionally *rth*) in W., e. g. *bwurdd* M. E. *borde*, *cwpuwdd* 'cupboard', *bas-tardd* 'bastard', *mwstardd* and *mwstarth* in *Medd, Mydd* pp. 95, 159; *ysbignardd* 'spikenard' in *Medd, Mydd*. p. 202, *ystondardld* *hardd* *hirddu*. Final *ld* of E. has become W. *llt* in

some words e. g. *cwcwallt* 'cuckold' (M. E. *cukewalde*), *mallt* (*W. S.*) 'mauld'.

Further cases of change and interchange of consonants in W. and Br.

I. Initially.

30. — 1) Initial *M, B, V* in W and Br.

In some native words there is an interchange of *m*- and *b*- in W. and Br. words, e. g.

W. *men* and *ben* 'cart, waggon'; W. *moes* Br. *boaŷ*; W. *mwyaidd* and *bwyaid*; O. W. *maut*, Mod. W. *bawd* (cf. *modfedd* 'inch' *mod-rwy* 'ring'); W. *megin*, Br. *megin* and *begin* 'bellows', W. *math* and *bath*; W. *magl* and *bagl* 'a snare'; W. *maeddu* and *baeddu* 'to soil'; Br. (Vann.) *mailloc* and *bailloc* 'chin'; W. *bun* and *mun* 'maiden'.

In the lanwords of W. and Br. the interchange of initial *m*, *b*, and *v* is much more frequent. These occur mostly in words borrowed from E. and Fr., with some examples, however, in late borrowings from Latin.

A. In Br.

a) *V* > *B*.

M. Br. (E.) has *benin* and *venin* 'venin', *bergier* 'vergier', *Beronic* 'Véronique', *berŷut* and *burŷut* from Lat. *virtut-is*, *bescont* 'vicomte' (Le Gon. has *beskouñt*), *bisaig* 'visage', *bitaill* 'vitaille', *bilen* 'vilain', *volontez*, *uolante*, 'volonté' (Mod. Br. *bolontez*, Vann. *volante* and *bolante*), *banel* 'venelle' (*L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) has also *banel*); *L. E. (H.)* has *beach* 'voyage' (O. Fr. *veiage*, *veage*); *bandem* 'vendange' (borrowed from Lat. *vindemia*), *biel* 'vielle', *baot* 'voûte' (borrowed from Lat. *volta* for *voluta* 'arrondie').

The majority of borrowed words, however, retain the initial *v*.

b) *M* > *B*.

L. E. (H.) *beñt* 'menthe'; Le Gon. *bardel* 'mardelle'; *būs* and *mūs* 'muids'.

c) *V* > *M*.

Vann. (Ch.) *mendem* 'vendange' (*mis mendem* 'septembre'),

mendemein 'vendange', Lat. *vindemia*, cf. *bandem* above a); Mod. Br. *mouez* 'voix', as in R. C., 8, p. 90 *vn mouez une voix*.

B. In W. ∴

a) $V > B$.

berf 'verb' from L. *verbum*; *berfaen* and *ferfaen* 'vervain'; *bernaïs* and *barnais* (mod. W. dial. *varnis*) 'varnish' M. E. *vernisch*, *vernysche* (*W. S.* has also *verneis*), *bicar*, *bicer* (and *micar*) 'vicar'; *bilain* and *milain* from M. E. *vilain*, *vilein*; *bitail* 'victuals' from M. E. *vitaille*; *bwlthur* and *fwlthur* (in Bible, Lev. II, 14 and Deut. 28, 7) 'a vulture'; *bocal* 'vocal, vowel' (the word *bocal* is used by *W. S.* in the introduction to his Welsh-English Dictionary).

b) $M > B$.

balaen, *balain*, *balen*, *belan* and *malaen* 'Milan-steel or -armour', early E. *Melayne*; *barlat*, ?for *balart* 'mallard'; *basarn* and *masarn* 'mazer-tree'; *buwl* *mul* *ieuanc* (*Geiriadur W. Llyn*) 'mule'; *burgyn*? E *morkin*; *barblis* and *marblis* (in N. W. dial.) 'marbles'.

Cf. W. *bynafyd* dial. for *ymanafu*, possibly through an intermediate form *mynafyd*; *bydroi* for *yndroi*, through an intermediate *mydroi*.

Cf. also W. *ffwlbart* and *ffwlbert* from E. *foulmarde*; W. *buddai* (Br. *mez*, Ir. *muide*) 'a churn', supposed to be from Lat. *modius*.

c) $V > M$.

mantais 'vantage'; *melved* 'velvet'; *mentro* and *mentrio* 'venture', *mentrus* (adj.) 'venturous'; *micar* and *bicar* 'vicar', *milain* and *bilain* M. E. *vilein* (See above (a)); *miswrn* 'vizor'; *mursen*? E. *virgin*; *mivilieu* 'vigils' in Llyfr Ancr Llandewivrevi, from Lat. *vigiliae*.

d) $B > M$.

W. S. gives *maner* 'a banner' by the side of the commoner W. forms *baner*; *mwngler* 'bungler' occurs in the works of Gruffyd ab Ieuan (viii) 'Nag aed *mwngler* i glera'; the common form is *bwngler*.

Cf. N. W. dial. *menthig*, S. W. dial. *mencid*, *myncid*, for the literary *benthig* (for *benffyg*).

Note. — In N. W. dial. the word *misi* ‘difficult to please’ has alternate forms *fisi* and *bisi*. The word *megin* has very often the form *fegin* as the radical, due, no doubt, to its frequent use with the definite article *y fegin* ‘the bellows’.

31. — 2). The spirant *ch* becomes *s* in Br. in certain cases; in W. as a general rule it becomes *si*, when it is followed by a vowel other than *i*, the *si* having two pronunciations — *sh* and *sɿ* (the *sɿ* pronunciation being confined more or less to parts of N. W.). Before the vowel *i* the *ch* becomes a pure *s*-sound in N. W., but generally *sh*-sound in S. W.

A. In Br. :

a) M. Br. *sanell* ‘a gutter, canal’ is believed to be from O. Fr. *chaînel* (Mod. Fr. *chêneau*), and the Mod. Br. *san* appears to be a shortened form of it. See *L. E. (H.)* s. v.

Siminal ‘cheminée’ in *R. C.*, 1, p. 408 ‘Dibaot *siminal* a voged | Anez ne ve tan en oaled’ (Rarement cheminée fume, s’il n’y a feu dans l’âtre).

Soum ‘rester’ is supposed to be from an early Fr. verb *chomer* (see *R. C.*, 2, p. 217). Other forms are *choum*, *chom*, as in *R. C.*, 3, p. 215, and *choumas* ‘est resté’ p. 216. Tr. has *señch* ‘changer’.

b) Fr. *ch* appears initially as *c* in Br. in the following cases, which found their way to Br. through the medium of some of the northern Fr. dials. that had *c* for *ch* before *a*.

M. Br. *carg* ‘charge’ (also Mod. Br. *karg*); Vann. (Ch.) *carnel* ‘charnier’ (see also *carnel* in *A. f. C. L.*, p. 606); *campr* ‘chambre’ (in *R. C.*, 10, p. 5 en *campraou* ‘en chambres’); *kaboun* (Fr.) ‘chapon’.

Cf. *L. E. (H.)* *fran̄kisiou* ‘franchises’.

B. In W. :

a). The change in W. is very common in the loanwords from E. Although E. had a dental in this sound, there are no traces of it initially in the W. words. *W. S.* says that the E. *ch* in his time was pronounced *tsi*, yet the words he gives in his dictionary do not show a dental at all. The *ch* of E. may

occur in native E. words or in the Romance words borrowed into E. In both cases, however, *si* appears initially in W.

Exs. :

Sieŷb ' Cheap-side ' M. E. *chepe*, O. E. *cēap*; *sialc* ' chalk ', M. E. *chalk*, O. E. *cealc*; *siwrl* ' churl ' M. E. *churle*, *chorle*, O. E. *ceorl*;

sialens ' challenge ' M. E. *challenge*; *siambr* ' chamber ' M. E. *cha(u)mbre*; *siamled* M. E. *chamelet*; *siarad* ? E. *charade*; *siecr* ' chequer ' M. E. *chekker*; *siawns* ' chance ' M. E. *chaunce*; *siars* ' charge ', *siarsio* ' to charge '; *siartr* ' charter ' M. E. *chartre*; *siet* (W. S.) M. E. *chele*.

b) Before the vowel *i* W. has pure *s* :

sibol M. E. *chibolle*; *sir* ' cheer ' M. E. *chere*; *siwet* (given by W. S.) M. E. *chewet*; *simnai* (*simddai*) ' chimney ' M. E. *chymneye*; *sir* ' shire ' M. E. *shire*, *shire*; *siryf*, *siri* ' sheriff ' M. E. *shirreve*; *silff* ' shelf ' M. E. *schelfe*, *shelfe*, O. E. *scylfe*.

Note. — The initial *j* of E. also appears in W. as *si*, e. g. ' *siaced* ' jacket ' ; *Sierom* ' Jerome ' ; *Siac* ' Jack ' in M. A. p. 330 ; W. S. has *siafling* ' a iauelyn ' and *siaggio* ' jagge '.

32. — 3). Interchange of initial *G* and *B* in W. and Br.

a). The only example in Br. is the M. Br. *blizien* ' year ', which has variant forms *glyzen* and *gluizen*. The corresponding W. word is *blwyddyn*.

b) In W. the interchange of initial *b* and *g* is seen in a few words. The Mod. W. *bwystrfil* occurs in the plur. form *guystruiled* ' in the Black Book. It is also found elsewhere with *g*, as Dr. Davies in his Dictionary gives the forms *gwestfil* and *bestfil* as variant forms of *bwystrfil*. The word *giach* has an alternate form *biach*, given by Dr. Davies. The W. word *bwyall* ' axe ' is pronounced *gwuallt* in parts of N. W. and *gwiall* in parts of S. W.

33. — 4). Interchange of initial *D*, *T* and *G*, *C* in W. and Br. :

1. In this case the form may have arisen from a confusion of *guylltfil* and *bwystrfil*.

In Ped. § 323 the W. *thand, thas* (with N. W. pronunciation, *thas*) are compared with Br. *a glen* 'ought' (the imperfect indic. 3 pers. sing.) for *dege* (M. W. *dylyo* 'to owe') and Br. *gwentl* 'pain', Trég. *war ænkle* 'in the throes of childbirth'.

With these may be compared the S. W. *gwid* = *dwed* (for *dwedha*) and N. W. *Gwidol* for *Dwaled* (*Cadwaladr*), *derwinan* for *gwerinen* 'ring-worm'.

Note. — In R. C., 19, p. 323 the M. Br. forms *gallennar*, *gallennar*, *gallennar* (Mod. Br. *gallennar*) are compared with the W. forms *gallhng* and *dillhng*. Cf. Vann. *darlekhienn* and *gallhenn* 'an ear-wig', Trég. *gallhenn*, mentioned in R. C., 3, p. 235.

34. — II. Medially and Finally.

1). We have seen above (§ 31) how initial Fr. *ch* was expressed in Br. by *c*, and how initial *ch* (and *t*) of E. appeared in W. as *si* or *s*.

A similar change took place medially and finally (in Br. in a few cases, in W. in most cases) in the case of *ch*, *t* and cerebral *g*.

A. In Br. :

1. Fr. *ch* seems to have become *s* (or *si*) in many M. Br. *maître* 'master' according to R. C., 21, p. 142; *seigneur* (A. f. C. L., p. 606) 'seigneur'; *épître* is from Fr. *épître* according to a conjecture to L. E. (H.), but it possibly arose first from the verbal from *épître*.

2. Fr. *j* appears as *si* in Br. *resousset* (A. f. C. L., p. 220) from Fr. *réjoir*.

3. Fr. *g* (or *z*) appears as *s* in M. Br. *sins* 'sing',

B. In W. :

1. E. *ch* appears medially in W. as *tsi*, *si*, (*s*) before vowels, and as *ts*, (*i*) before consonants, e. g.

tsichel 'catch-poll' M. E. *catchpoll*; *tsienn* (W. S.) 'fletcher' M. E. *fletcher*; *tsienn* (W. S.) 'hatchet' M. E. *hatchet*; *tsienn* 'pitcher' M. E. *pitcher*; *tsienn* (W. S.) a hetchel M. E.

hechele; *marsiant* 'merchant'; *scwtswyn* 'seutcheon' M. E. *scochone*; *treinsiwr* 'trencher', *setsiel* (*W. S.*) 'a sechell'; *Rhisiart* 'Richard'; *Winsestyr* (*R. B.H.*, II, p. 388) 'Winchester'.

2. E. medial *j* appears as *s* in one loanword in *W.*, *consurio* 'to conjure'; *W. S.* has *consurio* 'coniure'. *Consurio* and *consirio* occur in the works of Gruffydd ab Ieuan (xi) 'Pe ron ar frig pren ar frys | *Gonsirio* Gwen os erys' and 'Ni ad fyth i enaid fo | Gan siarad i *gonsurio*'.

3. Medials soft *g* appears in *W.* as *s*, *si*, *ds*, e. g. *W.S.* has *satten o brudsys* 'saten of *bruges*' i. e. *Bruges*; *corsiet* in *L. G. C.*, from E. *gorget*; *dwynsiwn* in *C. Coch MSS.* p. 424, from E. *dungeon*; *veinsians* (*W. S.*) 'vengeance'; *habrsiwn* 'habergeon'; *lardies* (possibly for *lardsies*) in *L. G. C.*, p. 370, 'largess'; *mansier* (*W. S.*) 'manger'; *seriant* in *L. G. C.*, p. 387 'sergeant' (*W. S.* has *serdsiant* 'sergeaunt'); *sinsir* 'ginger'.

4. Final *ch(e)* and *g(e)* of E. appear in *W.* as *s*, *ts*, (and *ds* for *g(e)*).

Exs: *braens* 'branch'; *brosio* 'to broach' (*W. S.* has *broitsio* 'broche'); *cleinsio* 'to clench' (*W. S.* has *kleinsio* pen hoil 'clenche'); *ffres* 'fresh' M. E. *freche*; *hairs* (*W. S.*) 'hatch'; *maits* (*W. S.*) 'a match' M. E. *mache* and *matche*; *mars* 'march, border' in *D. G.* pp. 13, 195, M. E. *march*, *marche*; *mwstas* 'moustache'; *W. S.* has *oystreds* *ffedder* 'oystreche fedder' i. e. ostrich-feather; *petris* and *pertris* 'partridge' M. E. *pertriche*; *taeds* (*W. S.*) 'a tache'; *treins* (*W. S.*) 'trenche'; *twyts* (*W. S.*) 'touche', also *twytsio* 'to touch'; *ystans* in *L. G. C.* p. 27, 'staunch', M. E. *sta(u)nche*; *Sandwis* *L. G. C.* p. 24 'Sandwich'.

baeds (*W. S.*) 'a badge' M. E. *bage*; *caes* and *caets* 'cage'; *karias* (*W. S.*) 'carriage'; *colas* 'college' in *L. G. C.* p. 354; *loydsio* (*W. S.*) 'lodge'; *mantais* 'vantage'; *mortgaeds* (*W. S.*) 'mortgage'; *payds* (*W. S.*) 'page'; *potes* 'potage' (*W. S.* has *poaes*); *saes* in *Medd. Mydd.* 'sage' (*W. S.* has *saets*, *saeds*); *siars* 'charge'; *sgwrs* 'scourge'.

35. — 2). W. and Br. *V(F)* and W between vowels and in consonant-groups.

An early final *w* after a consonant in W. and Br. was itself a consonant in the middle-period of both languages, as the metres show. Even at the present day in the W. *cynghanedd* metres it is non-syllabic, and always counts as a consonant. In modern times, however, in W. and Br. the tendency has been to vocalise this consonant. In W. the vocalisation naturally appears as an *u*-vowel (W. *w*), but very rarely *o* is heard. In Br. the vocalisation tends to favour the *o*-vowel. The form with *o*, however, can in M. Br. be non-syllabic. M. Br. has *maru*, *ludu*, *garu*, *mezu*, *hanu* later *maro*, *garo*, *mezo*, *hano*, (W. *marw*, *lludw*, *garw*, *meddw*, *enw*). M. Br. has forms in *o* and Mod. Br. forms in *v*.

As is the case in modern W. metric, where the *w* is regarded as a consonant (and it is still held to be the really correct modern pronunciation by some), so in the Br. dial. of Vann. the *w* preserves its consonantal quality. In this dial. it is really an *ü*-consonant, and is expressed in various ways in the different dictionaries.

The common change of *u* to *o* in Br. may have a parallel in the modern N. W. pronunciation of such expressions as *yn enw'r Tad*, in which case *'n eno'r Tad*, is distinctly heard. Cf. M. W. *chwero* (*ckwerw*), and *guero* in *Gododdin* (see § 21) *racco* (later *acw*, S. W. *oco*, *yco*), *hero* (*herw*), *helo* (*helw*), *taro* (*tarw*), *ero* (*erw*)¹.

For the total disappearance of this sound in final position after consonants in both W. and Br. see §§ 73, 74.

The following are exs. of the interchange of *u* and *v* (W. *w* and *f*, Br. *ou*, *o* and *v*, *ff*).

1. The lines where these occur are the following (Skene, II, p. 106, *Bk. of Aneirin*) :

Hero ciued guet guero
Gnissint gueuilion ar e helo
Nit oed ar les bro bol ero
Ni cillas taro trin let un ero
Traus y achau liuir delo

cf. *heno* (*henw*) in *Black Book* (Skene II, xxxv) :

Vgnach yw vyheno mab mydno.

a) $u > v$.

1) In Br. (here the change is mainly the rule):

M. Br. *divex* (W. *diwedd*), *levenex* (W. *llewenydd*, *llawenydd*), *guiuffer* (W. *gwiwer*), *goeff* (W. *gwayw*), *naffn*, *naon* (W. *newyn*), *naffnec* (W. *newynog*), *teffal*, *teual* (W. *tywzll*), *tao*, *tevell* (W. *law*, *tawel*, Mod. Br. *tevel*), *goeffaff* (W. *gwywo*).

Mod. Br. *adbevet* in L. Ch. (W. *adfyvio*), *leshanvet* (W. *llysenwi*), *liou*, *liv* (W. *lliw*) but *liva* (W. *llifo*), *glao* (W. *glaw*) but *glavek* (W. *glawog*), *teo* (W. *tew*) but *tevaat* (W. *tewhau*), *birvi* (W. *berwi*).

2) In W. :

Most of the W. exs. of this change are mostly from the spoken language but some of them have found their way to the literary language *brïw* but *brifo* 'to hurt', *glaw* plur. *glafogydd* and adj. *glafog*, *gwryw* 'male' plur. *gwryfod*; *gorfedd*, *gorfadd* (*gorwedd*), *cnaſon* (*cenarvon*), *gwyw* but *gwyfo* (*gwywo* 'to fade, wither'), *cafod* (*carwod*), *gloefi* (*glœwi*), *Ifan* (*Ieuan*, *Iwan*) *ifanc* (*ieuanc*), *Eifionydd* (cf. M. W. *Eiwynydd* in *Mab Math fab Mathonwy*), *hwfans* from the E. *allowance*, *hwfio* from E. *allow*; *llifo* 'to dye' (from *lliw* 'colour').

b) $v > u$ generally before *l*, *n*, *r*).

1. In Br. :

aon, *aoun* M. Br. *oun* (W. *ofn*), *diaoul*, *diaul* pl. *diaoulou* (W. *diafl*, *diawl*), *taulign* 'to throw', *taulet* 'thrown', *ditaulas* 'he threw' in L. Ch. (W. *taflu*), *taul* 'table' (cf. W. *taflen*), *gaor* and *gavr* (W. *gafr*), *gaol* (W. *gafl*), *reor* (W. *rbefr*). M. Br. *eintaff* is in Mod. Br. *intaon* (*intañv*, *intav*).

2. In W. :

awsen by the side of *absen* 'absence', *cawsun* for *cafswn* (from *cael* for *cafel*), *cowluid* for *coflaid*, *diawl* for *diafl*, *tawlu* for *taflu*, *niwl*¹ by the side of *nifwl*; M. W. *ysgawn* = *ysgafn*.

Cf. dial. *cywod* (*cyfod*), *cwarfod* (*cyfarfod*), *cywoeth* (*cyfoeth*), *sgwarnog* (*ysgyfarnog*), *sgwennu* (*ysgrifennu*).

¹. The form *niwl*, when compared with Ir. *nel*, is difficult to explain. Cf. O. Fr. *niule*.

Cf. also the interchange of *au(eu)*, *aw (ew)*, *ef (yf)* in W. *kenen*, *cenaw*, *cenawon*; *llysiau*, *llyssawyn*; *edau*, *edafedd*; *claddau*, *claddys*, *claddysau* (M. Br. *clezeff*, *clezeu*, pl. *clezeffyou*); *eisiau*, *essywed*; *deunydd*, *defnydd*.

36. — 3) Interchange of *N* and *R* in W. and Br.

a) In Br.

An interchange of *r* and *n* occurs in Br. in the Mod. Br. forms of the Article. In M. Br. the forms of the definite article were *an*, *ar*; in Mod. Br. the forms are *an(n)* before vowels and *d*, *t*, *n*; *ar* before other consonants except *l*; *al* before *l*. The indefinite article has the forms *eu(n)*, *eur*, *eul* under the same conditions. For the history of the Article in Br. see R. C., 2, pp. 204-216.

The Br. forms for the poss. pronoun of the 1 pers. plur. are *hon*, *hor* 'our'; for the personal pronoun of the 1 pers. plur. also *hon*, *hor* 'we, us'; for the 3 pers. sing. accus. *han*, *hen*, *her* 'him, it'. M. Br. (E.) has *knech* 'hill', *crech* for Mod. Br. *crec'h* or *kreach*; *knoenn* 'nut', *kanounen* pl. *kanou*, *cnou*, *craouf(f)*, for Mod. Br. *kraouenn* plur. *kraouñ*; *kneau* 'fleece', later *creon* by Maunoir (W. *cnu*, *cnaif*); *tnou* 'a valley', *traou*, *tnou*, *trou* for Mod. Br. *traou* (Trég.), in W. *tyno*, earlier *tonou* in *Lib. Land*.

Mod. Br. has *ken*, *ker* corresponding to the W. *cyn* 'as' (before adjs. and advs.). Cf. *nemert*, *nement*, *nemeit* (W. *namyn*).

b) In W. :

The O. W. form of the article was *ir*, in M. W. *yr*, *y*, and in Mod. W. *yr*, *y*. A trace of the older form with *n* is believed to occur in such expressions as 'y mae efe *yn* ddyn' = he is a man, and 'y mae efe *yn* fawr' = he is great. This, however, is doubtful.

Dr. Davies in his Welsh-English Dictionary gives *moreren* as a by-form of *moronen*, the sing. of *moron* 'carrots', and *serrigl* by the side of *sienigl* 'contritus'.

In *Campau Siarlymaen* the form *Corstinobyl* 'Constantinople' occurs, but in *M. A.* p. 328 the form is *Constinobl*.

Cf. the E. loanwords *trôns* 'drawers', and *trôn* 'drawer'; also in N. W. *count* from E. 'court (-yard)'.

37. — 4). Interchange of *ST* and *SK* (*SC*) in W. and Br.

The exs. generally adduced to illustrate this interchange of Consonantal groups are W. *gwisg* 'garment', *gwisgo* 'to clothe', M. Br. *guisquaff*, Mod. Br. *guiska*, compared with the Lat. *vestis*¹; and W. *asgwrn* 'bone', M. Br. *ascorn*, Mod. Br. *askorn* (Trég.), *askourn* (Léon) compared with the Greek ὀστρεον.

The W. words *gwasg* and *trysglen* have also been compared with the E. *waist* and *throstle*.

There appear to be other cases of this interchange of *st* and *sc* in W. and Br.

A. In Br. :

The Vann. dial. of Sarzeau seems to change the guttural into a dental in *garlostienn*, by the Side of *darloškenn*, *darloš-khien* 'an ear-wig' (Trég. *garloskbenn*, *garloskenn*). See R. C. 3, p. 235. Cf. *mousk*, *moust*, as in *maro mousk* 'quite dead' mentioned in R. C. 4, p. 145.

Vann. *foesk*, *foest* L. E. (H.) 'soft, feeble'.

Stlabez, *sklabez* 'dirt, mud' (R. C. 27, p. 73), Fr. *éclabousser*.

B. In W. :

Prof. Rhys in R. C. 3, p. 87, cites two exs. of this interchange in M. W. *diosdes* (for commoner *diosges*) and *y ueistawn* : " With *diosc* 'to strip' Mr. Stokes compares Breton *di-uis-quaff*. The Mabinogion have the form with the dental in *diosdes*; also in Mabinogion... one reads *y ueistawn* for what would new in Cardiganshire be *ywiscon*, which means hay trodden and pressed down in a long stack or the like, probably from the same origin as *gwasgu* 'to squeeze, to press'. " It is very probable, however, that *ueistawn* ought to be read *veiscawn* in the MS.

The modern N. W. pronunciation of the literary *ysgol* (Lat. *scāla*) is *yistol*, thereby distinguishing it from *ysgol* 'school' (Lat. *schola*).

1. It is more probable that the W. and Br. forms have a different suffix from the Latin.

38. — 5). Interchange of *C'H*, *H* between vowels, and the occasional disappearance of the consonant between vowels in W. and Br.

As a general rule where W. has *ch*, Br. also has *c'h* between vowels. The irregular interchange of *c'h* (*ch*) and *h*, and the loss of *h* may be seen from the following exs. :

Br. *Gl. O. inéues* (gl. in bouello) is taken by Stokes to be for *in* + *bues*, with *bues* corresponding to the W. *buches* ; Br. *ac'hanoun*, etc. 'from me' (W. *obonof*), Br. *bubez* (W. *buchedd* 'life'); Br. *bihan* (W. *bychan* 'small'); Br. *croc'hen* (W. *croen* 'skin'); Br. *de'hen* (W. *dehau*, also *dechau*, *deche*, *detha*, *deche* in dials.); Br. *ael* (W. *echel* 'axle'). The M. Br. (E.) *chanaff* 'to rest' and *chau* 'rest', Léon *chana* are compared with a W. word *echain*. M. Br. *chuederz*, *buederz* 'sky-lark' is in Trég. *ac'houlder* (W. *chedydd*. The W. form *uchedydd* may possibly be for *achedydd*, changed to *uchedydd* under the influence of the adj. *uchel* 'high'). The Léon words *ac'hen* 'large, spacious', *c'ehondier* (*ac'hondier*) 'spaciousness', Vann. *chander* are said to correspond to W. *cang* (*chang*), *cangder* (*changder*) in R. C. 19, p. 330. Léon has also *hec'hen* and *hegon* for *ac'hen*. W. *allwedd* is Br. *alc'houez*, with *c'h* for lenated *g*.

In the W. dials. the interchange occurs in some words. For the literary *dehau* 'South, right' N. W. has *deha* 'skilful, handy'; S. W. has *deche* and *deche*. (With the interchange of *ch* and *th* cf. W. *dechreu* with Br. *degrau* and *desrau*). M. W. *ehorw* is in Mod. W. *cofn*, *con*, but in parts of S. W. the forms *ehon* and *ehen* are found. The N. W. *cyd*, for *cydd* (M. Br. *quidit*, Mod. Br. *keit*), is pronounced in parts of S. W. as *cydd*; similarly N. W. *er r*, for *erwr* 'heron' (Br. *herc'heiz*, for *hercheiz*) is pronounced in S. W. as *erchydd*. The final *r* of N. W. is not heard in composition, *cry glās* 'heron' and even *crydd glās* being the forms usually heard, cf. *cybaecian* and *cychuefan* 'to hover'.

The intervocalic *h* of W. and Br. frequently disappears

1. Cf. Br. *trieuec'h* 'eighteen' for *tri-c'houec'h*.

2. See Ped. II, p. 295.

especially in modern times. M. Br. *eboc*, Mod. Br. *ek* (M. W. *ebawg*, Mod. W. *eog*); W. *eofn* for M. W. *ehofyn*; *eang* for M. W. *ehang*; W. *cŷd*, Br. *keit* (see above); W. *bet* in *Lib. Land.* for O. W. *bebet*.

39. — 6) Medial *ND* in W. and Br.

At an early period in W. and Br. original *nd* had become *nn* (see Ped. § 69) e. g. O. W. *ennian* 'anvil'. Mod. W. *einion*, M. Br. *anneffn*, Mod. Br. *anneo*, *annev*, O. Ir. *indéin*; but in some cases the *nd* is preserved as in O. W. *enderic*, Mod. W. *enderig* by the side of *anner* 'heifer'; O. Br. *endlim* (gl. *fenus*) W. *ynnill*, *ennill*, O. Ir. *indile*.

In loanwords from Lat. *nd* appears also as *nn* in most cases, but here again there are variations. M. Br. has *cantoell* (Mod. Br. *cantol*) W. *cannwyll* from Lat. *candēla*; Br. *sklent* from Lat. *scindula*.

There appears also a difference of treatment when *n* and *d* come together as the result of the syncope of a vowel. W. has *bendith* from Lat. *benedictio*, but Br. has *bennoez*. The W. *bendith* may stand for an earlier **benddith* cf. W. *trindod*, Br. *trindet*, *treindet* (from Lat. *trinitat-is*) where the *nd*, having arisen comparatively late, has remained unchanged.

40. — 1). Interchange of *V* (*F*) and *DD* (*Z*) in W. and Br.

The W. word *llythyr* (*llyther*) 'a letter' corresponds to the Br. *lizer*, which has the form *liver* in the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau. This interchange of *v* and *z* is also seen in the Br. words *kleze*, *kleve* (M. Br. *clezeff*, *clezenuff*, *clezeu*, W. *cleddyf*, *cleddau*). The Br. form *kleve*¹ may, however, have arisen from metathesis of consonants (cf. *pinvidik* = W. *pendefig* and *pendeddig*). So *kleve* would be for *kleve(z)* for *klezeff*, cf. R. B. H. *clefydeu* (with *d* = *dd*). Br. *avank* 'beaver or some aquatic animal' corresponds to W. *addanc*, *afanc*.

In W., however, the interchange of *f* and *dd* is quite common, especially in the dialects, — *addanc*, *afanc*; *Eiddionydd*,

1. The form may also have been influenced by the Fr. *glaive*.

Eifionydd (a district in Carnarvonshire); *pendefig*, *pendeddig* 'prince, chief'; *gwyrŷ*, *gwerydd* 'virgin'.

In the W. spoken language and the various dials. the following occur :

byfigions, *byddigions* (*boneddigion*, with the plur. *s*-ending of E.), *cymandda* (*cymanfa* 'a congregation, convention') *camdda* (*camfa* 'a stile'), *eifil* (*eiddil* 'delicate, tender'), *gweddus* (*gwefus* 'lip'), *nwyfau* (*nwyddau* 'goods'), *plwydd* (*plwyf* 'parish'), cf. *y fannodd* for *y ddannodd* 'toothache'.

With this interchange of *f* and *dd* in W. may be compared a parallel-interchange of *ff* and *th*, mostly in the spoken language. One example from the literary language is *benthyg* 'loan' for the older *benffic* (as in the Black Book). Others are *gwneiff* and *gwneith* (3 pers. sing. pres. indic. of *gwneuthur* 'to make') *daffod*, *dathod* (for *datod* 'to undo'), *ceith* and *ceiff* (*caiff*, 3 pers. sing. pres. indic. of *cael*, *caffael*), *deffol* (*dethol* 'select'), *stwthio* and *stwoffio* from E. *stuff*.

41. — 8) Interchange of final *Z* (*DD*) and *D* in W. and Br.

A change (signalised by Loth, R. C. 17, p. 60) of a final dental spirant to a voiced dental stop is found in certain districts of Cornouaille. In Léon it is *z* for *th*.

Exs. : *bad* 'staff' (Léon *baʒ*), *eid*, *eit* 'eight' (Léon *eiʒ*, W. *wyth*), *gard* 'hedge' (Léon. *garʒ*, W. *garth*), etc.

In W. there are a few exs. of a similar change of final *dd* to *d* :

Gormod for earlier *gormodd* (*D. G. Gormodd rhodd*, *gwr meddw a'i rhoes*), *Maesyfed* 'Radnor' is supposed to be for *Maes-Hyfaidd* (cf. *Hefeydd* of the *Mab.*), *ymachlud* 'sunset' for *ymachludd* (Lât. *occlûdo*). In the S. W. dial. *allwed* for *allwedd*, *cynted* for *cyntedd*; in the N. W. dial. *diffod* for *diffodd*; cf. *'spydu* for *dishyspyddu* 'exhaust'.

42. — 9) Interchange of *NG*, *N*, and the occasional disappearance of the consonant in W. and Br.

For Lat. *spongius* Br. has three forms *spoueng* (and *spoueñk*), *spouen*, *spoue*, W. *yspwng*; corresponding to W. *mwng*, Ir. *mong*, Br. has *moueng* (and *moueñk*), *mouen*, *moue*) O. Br.

mogou, plur.). M. Br. has *golloenter*, *gollonder*, *goullonder* (Mod. Br. *goullönder*) and *dilloenter*, corresponding to W. *gollwng*, *dillwng*. For the above see R. C. 19, p. 323, cf. M. Br. *toeaff* (W. *tyngu*).

The intervocalic *ng* of Latin was lost in Br. loanwords like M. Br. *ael* (Mod. Br. *eal*, W. *angel*) Lat. *angelus*; *aviel* (W. *efengyl*) Lat. *evangelium*, *nouenn*, L. *unguentum*. See Ped. § 138, 4, p. 224.

From among the Br. loanwords from Fr. we may note the following exs. of changes :

lon Fr. *long*, in R. C. 26, p. 118, M. Br. (E.) *coinn* and *coing*, ? Fr. *coin*. M. Br. (E.) shows *ng* for the Fr. *gn* in the following :

Bourgoing (*Bourgoign*, *Bourgoninn*) ‘*Bourgogne*’; *cigoing* ‘*cigogne*’, *Spaing* ‘*Espagne*’; cf. also *roingnenn* ‘*rogne*’.

In W., as in Br., there is an interchange of *ng* and *n*, but W. has also a third form *w*. The following are exs. :

llawethair (*llyffethair*, Ir. *langfiter*) from E. *long-fetter*; *llewa* by the side of *llyncu*¹ and *llyngyren* (Ir. *longim* ‘*I eat*’), *pythennos*, *penennos* (*pythennos*) for *pymtheng-nos*; *tafod* (for *tawod*) M. Br. *teaut*, O. Ir. *tenge*; *ewin*, Br. *ivin*, O. Ir. *ingen*, Lat. *unguis*. Lib. Land. has *gullengin* for the Mod. W. *gorllewin*. See Ped. § 61, 4, p. 107.

In the colloquial language of N. W. the following forms are heard :

denid (or *denig*) for *diengyd* from *dianc* ‘*to escape*’; *danos* for *dangos* ‘*to show*’; *cnebrwn* for *cynhebrwng* ‘*funeral*’; *gostwn* for *gostwng* ‘*to lower*’; *gwlwn* and *golwn* (*gylwn*) for *gollwng* ‘*to let loose*’.

In S. W. : *cyffreding* for *cyffredin* ‘*common*’; *pring* for *prin* ‘*rare*’; *shudding* for *shuddin* ‘*the heart of a tree*’, *Llan-vylling* is found for *Llanfyllin* (a town in Montgomeryshire) in Cym. *Llên Cym.* [II] (An act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, 1649) p. 18 « att *Llanvylling* the 14th May... ».

In the W. loanwords from E. the following may be noted :

1. The identity of the base-forms underlying *llewa* and *llyncu* is, however, doubtful. Cf. Ir. *longim* and *luccim*.

ng > n : *dwbin* (*dwbing*) 'cement', as in '*dwbin ffwrn*', E. *dubbing*, *daubing* (*dubbin*); *W. S.* has *dwbing* 'dawbinge'; *fferin* (plur. *fferins*) E. *fairing*; *bæstin* in *M. A.* p. 42^a, ? from E. *husting* 'an assembly'; *offræm* 'offering, sacrifice' may be for *offren* from O. E. or early M. E. *ofrung* 'an offering'; *pwdin* E. *pudding*;

n > ng : *bing* 'the forestall in a cow-house' E. *bin*; *bowling* *llong* 'bowleyne' (*W. S.*), Mod. E. *bowline* (but E. itself had forms *bowling*, *bollinge* up to the 19th. c.); *coffing* (*S. W.*) E. *coffin*; *Catring* (*S. W.*) 'Catherine'; *dwsing* 'dozen' M. E. *dossin*, *dozyne*; *fflwring*, *ffloring* 'florin' (but in 15th c. there was an E. form *floring*); *resing* 'reysyn' (*W. S.*); *siafling* 'iauelyn' (*W. S.*); *ring* for *yr ing* 'the inn'; *Lating* is often heard for *Latin* (cf. *Llading* in Gr. Roberts, Welsh Grammar, *R. C.* reprint p. [165]).

43. — 10) Interchange of *L* and *R* in *W.* and *Br.*

In many cases the change is due to dissimilation.

A. In *Br.* :

a) *r > l* :

M. Br. (E.) has *armel* 'armoire'; *brevial* (*breuiet*) 'bréviaire'; *cornel* 'cornière'; *guelelouen* (*guerelouen*) 'l'étoile du matin'; *dromeder*, Vann. *domedal*, *dremedal* 'dromadaire'; *dazrou*, *dazlou* (Mod. Br. *daelou*, V. *dareu*), *grawel* 'grammaire'; *Kathelin* Catharine; *priol* (*priore*) 'prieur'; *scritol* (*scrutoer*, *scruytouer*) 'écritoire'; *talazr* (*tarazr*, *W. taradr*) 'tarière'.

Mod. Br. has *beler* (*W. berwr*, *Ir. biror*, *bilor*); *alar* (*arar*, *W. aradr*); *alar* (*tarar*, for M. Br. *talazr*, *tarazr*); *kontrol* (M. Br. *contrell*, O. Br. *control-iaht*, *W. cythraul*, *cythrawl*, from L. *contrārius*), cf. O. Fr. *contralier*; *abalamour* (= *a palamour* from Fr. *paramour*); *banniel* (M. Br. *banier*, *banyer*) 'bannière'; *musul* (M. Br. *musur* from Lat. *mensura*), *fleria*¹ (from Lat. *fragrare*, or possibly from Fr. *flairer*). Vann. (Ch.) has *ailetteen* 'airette'; *barriel* 'barrière'; *poulpri* 'pourpri';

1. Cf. however, O. Br. (*Br. Gl.*) *fleriot*, gl. quae redolet.

trêd, *trêt* (W. *tlawd*); bas-vann. *moual* (Léon *mouar* W. *mwyyar*); cf. *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) *Argoestl* and *Algoestl*, later *Aloestre*, at the present day *Aloustre*.

The following exs. are taken from texts in *R. C.* : — *R. C.* 3, p. 200 *arru'r baniel* (voici la bannière); *R. C.* 8, p. 466 *dibilil* (sans péril); *R. C.* 4, p. 103 : *Rale gad du* (Rare est lièvre noir).

b) $l > r$:

M. Br. (E.) *ambarfaret* 'tout effaré' (cf. W. *ymbalfalu*); *derchell* 'tenir' (by the side of imperat. *dal* 'tiens', W. *dal*, *dala*); *aral*, *arall* (W. *arall*, Ir. *alaile*, *araile*); *guernell* (Mod. Br. *gervel*, cf. M. Br. *galu* W. *galw*); *teurell* 'jeter' (W. *taflu*, *tawlu*, Mod. Br. *teurel*).

Vann. (Ch.) has *brounec*, Léon. *blonec*, W. *bloneg* 'lard'; *L. E.* (H.) *dar* from Fr. *dalle*; *R. C.* 3, p. 60 *ann armanach* (un almanach); *burutel* *L. E.* (H.) 'blutoir' from O. Fr. *blutel*; *R. C.* 21, p. 138 *afour* Fr. *en foule* (see § 69, a)).

B. In W. :

a) $r > l$:

ffleirio (O. W. *flair-maur*) from Lat. *fragrare* (cf. Br. *fleria*, above); *blytheirio* for *bretheirio* (W. S.), in Mod. W. often without the *r* or *l*, *bytheirio*; *cythraul* and *cythrawl* from Lat. *contrarius* (cf. M. Br. *contrell*); *Chwefrol* and *Chwefror* from Lat. *Februārius*; M. W. *glyssyn* by the side of *gryssyn*, Mod. W. *gresyn*; *mesul*, in *fesul un*, *fesul tipyn* 'one by one, gradually', for *mesur* 'measure' from Lat. *mensura*.

The *r* of E. appears as *l* in W. in the loanwords — *cornel* 'corner' *D. G.* p. 193 *Cornel* *ddiddos yw Rhosyr*; *dwsml* 'dulcimer' in *L. G. C.*, Goronwy Owen and in Mod. W. The form *dwsmer* is given by W. S. for the early N. E. forms *doucimer*, *doussemer*, *dowcemer*. In N. W. dial. *dressal* for E. *dresser*, *rasal* and *rasel* for E. *razor*, *sylfuar* for E. *surveyor*.

b) $l > r$:

ffrewyll 'a scourge' from Lat. *flagellum*; *llefrith* (Br. *livrix*) is supposed to be for *lleflith* and cognate with Ir. *lemlacht*, *lemnacht*.

44. — 11). Change of final *N* to *M* in loanwords in W. and Br.

There are numerous exs. of this change in the Br. loanwords from Fr. and in the W. loanwords from E.

a) In Br.

M. Br. (E.) has *Aliborum* Aliboron 'docteur imbécile'; *alum* 'alun', *alun glace* 'alun de glace'; *arem*¹ 'airain' (Mod. Br. *arem*, *arm*, Vann. *airain*, *airin*) *Caym* Caïn (rhyming with *prim*); *patrom* (Mod. Br. *patroum*, *patrom*) 'patron'; *venim* 'venin' (the Mod. Br. is *binim* as in *R. C.* 2, p. 242: hag ho *binim* 'et leur venin', but according to *L. E. (H.)* s. v., it stands for an O. Fr. **venim* whence the adj. *venimeux*). M. Br. has *liam*² plur. *liammou*, as in *M. Br. H.*, and may be from Fr. *lien*. Le Gon. has *gwaremm* 'garenne'.

In some Br. words there appears to be an opposite change of *m* to *n*, in such forms as M. Br. (E.) *cin*, *cim* (supposed to be from Lat. *simius*; the change here may however be due to the other M. Br. word *sins* from Fr. *singe*); *brun*, *brume* 'brume'. Cf. Vann. *butum* 'tobacco' but *butunein* 'to smoke'; M. Br. (E.), *tribun* and *tribum* 'tribut'; Trég. *blim* and *blin* 'lively, quick' (Le Gon. has *bluñ* or *blññ*, *vif*, *alerte*).

b) In W. :

In W. there are some exs. of the change even in native words. In *Medd. Mydd.*, p. 195, we get 'ellia'r pen yn lan ag *ellym*' where *ellym* stands for the more common *ellyn*, O. Br. *altin*, M. Br. *autenn*. The change may have been due to the influence of *llyn* 'sharp'.

In N. W. *gwialam* or *gwialem* may be heard for *gwialen* 'rod, twig'. The Gwentian form for *morwyn* is *morwm* 'a maid'.

In loanwords from E. the change is more frequent, e. g. *botwm*, *butwm*, 'button', in *D. G.* p. 57 *botymiau* (plur.) (*buttwon* in *Campan Charlymaen*, p. 50, also in the Mod.

1. In the case of *arem* and *liam* the *m* may be from the earlier Fr. forms in *-m*.

2. Br. *liam* may, however, be from the Provençal form in *-m*.

Gwentian dial.) ; *colwm* 'cotton' ; *latwm* 'latten' in *D. G.* p. 257 Bwa *latwm* didrwm draed, *M. E.* *latoun* ; *injam* the Powysian form of *E. engine*, Venedotian *injan* ; *maentumio* and *myntymio* 'maintain' , *myntumior* 'maintainer' in *L. G. C.* p. 22. *Myntumior* iemyn Tomas, and *C. Coch MSS.* p. 143, *maentiniaf*, *M. E.* *maintene*, *mayntyne* ; *natrwm* 'natron' in *Medd. Mydd.* p. 225, possibly for *notrwm*, *notrwn* *E.* *natron* ; *pastwm*, *N. W.* form for *pastwn*, *bastwn*, *E.* *baston* (*W. S.* has *bastwn*, *W. Llŷn* *pastwn*, *D. G.* p. 123 *Llawenaf breiniolaf bryd Yw'r bastwnier bost anwyd*) ; *patrwm* 'a pattern' (*W. S.* *patrwm* 'a paterne') *M. E.* *patron*, *patroun* ; *rheswm* 'reason' (in the works of Gruffydd ab Ieuan viii 'O ddaw o reswm ne ddau | I gyfarvod ar versau', with a variant *reswn* in another MS.) *M. E.* *resun*, *resoun*) ; *saffrwm* 'saffron' (*W. S.* has *saffrum*, and Dafydd ab Edmwnd 'Saffrum ar lysiau effros', but in *Medd. Mydd.* p. 23 *tebye i saffrŷn*) *M. E.* *saffroun*, *saffrun* ; *stalwm* 'stallion' in *N. W.* dial. for the literary *ystalwyn* (but *ystalwyn* may be an incorrect form for *ystalwn* from *M. E.* *stallone*, cf. *galwyn* from *E.* *gallon*, and *wynwyn* from *M. E.* *oynon*).

Note. — Even in *M. E.* the final *n* in Romance words was often changed to *m*, and has survived up to the present day in such words as *ransom*, *random*.

An ex. of the opposite change of *m* to *n* may possibly have taken place in *Duran* 'Durham' in *L. G. C.* p. 357 :

A bad aur esgob *Duran*
Yn ei lys yn nhal y lan.

45. — 12). A development of *RD* and *RT* in *W.* and *Br.*

An early original *rd* appears in *M. Br.* as *rɜ*, but as the *M. Br.* *ɜ* represents *ð* and *th*, the exact pronunciation cannot be ascertained. It has been suggested (*R. C.* 7, p. 155) that as the *Br.* dialects of Trég. and Vann. always treat the *ɜ* following a liquid as a hard, not a soft, consonant, even in *M. Br.* the *ɜ* may have stood for the *th*-sound, e. g. words like Trég. *urɜ*, Vann. *urb* ; Trég. *c'hoerɜin*, Vann. *hoarhein*, *M. Br.* *urɜ* and *huerɜin*, with *ɜ* representing *th* and not *ð*.

If this be really the case, it may be compared with a simi-

lar change in W. of *dd* to *th* after *r*, e. g. *hworth* and *hworthio* in the colloquial language for *hredd*, *hyrddio*. Cf. *chwerthin* 'to laugh' but *chwarddaf* 'I laugh' *chwardd* 'laughs', O. W. *guardam*; W. S. has *ffwrth* for *ffurdd*.

This interchange of *rdd* and *rth* is noticeable even to a greater extent in the W. loanwords from E. The final *rt* and *rd* of E. words occasionally take the forms *rth* and *rdd* in the W. representatives, e. g. *bwrdd* 'board, table' O. E. *bord*, M. E. *bord*, *borde*; *bastardd* in *Iolo MSS.* p. 315, William y *Bastardd*, R. B. H. II, p. 309 Henri vab G6ilim *bastard* (*d* for *dd*) *cupwrdd* 'cupboard', *ysbignardd* 'spikenard' in *Medd.* Mydd. p. 201; *ystondardd* 'standard' in *Iolo Goch* p. 108, *Ag ystondardd* *hardd hirddu*; Dr. Davies has *comffordd* 'comfort'; *cymffyrddus* 'comfortable', but W. S. has *kwnffwrth* 'conforte', *kwnffwrddio* 'to counforte'; *mwstardd* 'mustard' in *Medd.* Mydd. p. 95, but on p. 159 'ceiniagwerth o *fwstarth*'; *Nordd*¹ 'North' in *D. G.* p. 22, *Gwraig rhyw benaig Robin Nordd*, *Iolo Goch* p. 213 *O'r Nordd yn yr Iwerddon*; *Cym. Llen Cymr.* [IV] p. 13, *Ymeth wreigen dos i ffordd* | *Naill ai i'r Nordd ai i'r Dwyrain*.

With the above may be compared such forms as *eddyw*, *ethyw*; *arfaeth*, *arfeddyd*; *perffaith*, *perffeiddio*; *ffrith*, *ffridd*.

46. — 13). The development of *TL*, *TN* and *TR* between vowels in W. and Br.

Whatever may have been the development of these consonantals groups at an earlier period, they are represented in M. Br. by the groups *zl*, *zr*, *zn*. In their further development up to the modern stage of Br., they completely lost the *z* before the *l* and *r*, with a kind of compensatory diphthongization of the foregoing vowel in some cases, e. g. O. Br. *motrep* (gl. *matertere*), M. Br. *mozreb*, Mod. Br. *moereb*, (W. *modryb*); M. Br. *tarazr*, Mod. Br. *tarar* (O. W. *tarater*, Mod. W. *taradr*), O. Br. *dadlou* (gl. *andronas*), M. Br. *dazl*, Mod. Br. *dael*, (O. Br. has also *datolaham* gl. *lego*, cf. O. W. *datl*, Mod. W. *dadl*); M. Br. *hoazl*, Mod. Br. *hoal* (W. *hoedl*),

1. Cf. the Norse *nordr*.

M. Br. *alaʒn* (for *anaʒl*) Mod. Br. *balan* (W. *anadl*); M. Br. *balazn* (for *banazl*) Mod. Br. *balan*, *banal* (W. *banadl*), M. Br. *loʒn*, Mod. Br. *loen* (W. *llwɔdn*).

Whether the development in W. took the same direction as in Br. is not certain. But there are facts which lead to the supposition that in W. also the *t* eventually became *dd* (*ð*) in such positions. In the Black Book, where *t* is orthographical for *ð*, we find *kenetyl* for Mod. W. *cenedl*. So it is not impossible that the *d* forms of Mod. W. were earlier *ð* (cf. *bodlon* for *boddlon*).

This is actually the case at the present day in the dial. of S. W. where forms like *chweddyl*, *gwyddyn*, *gwaddan* or *gwaddyn* are common for *chwedl*, *gwydn*, *gwadn* (N. W. *chadal*, *gweudyn*, *gwadan*). In some of the poets (possibly of S. W.) the forms with *ð* occur, with a swarabhakti *y*. Cf. W. *haeddel* M. Br. *haeʒl*.

The further loss of the *ʒ* before the final liquid, which took place in the development of M. Br. to Mod. Br. can also be exemplified from Mod. dial. W., e. g.

In S. W. *anal* (for *anaddl* or *anadl*), cf. Br. *balan*, *hanal*; in N. W. *dalan* (possibly for *danal* from *danadl*) in *dalan poethion* 'nettles'. In S. W. (and also to a certain extent in N. W.) the forms *boddlon* 'satisfied', *boddloni* 'to satisfy', *ffyddlon* 'faithful', *ffyddlondeb* are pronounced *bolon*, *boloni*, *ffylon*, *ffyllondeb*. M. W. has also *bodlon* for *boddlon*.

The W. ordinary literary forms with *d* have, however, their counterpart in the Br. development also. Prof. Loth (R. C., 16, p. 205) refers to the preservation of *dr* (from earlier *tr*) in the Br. dial. of Ouessant (Léon), where the form *moédreb* is found for the common M. Br. form *moereb*, M. Br. *mozreb*, O. Br. *motreb*, W. *modryb*. He also compares *ar edred* 'la cimiterie' for *ar vedred*, elsewhere *ar verd*, with W. *beddrod*, which, according to him, is for *bedrod* owing to the influence of *bedd* 'grave'.

47. — 14). There seem to be one or two exs. in W. and Br. of a dental becoming a sibilant before a labial, e.g.

M. Br. H. *daspren* 'to redeem' (Ir. *taithechricc*) for *do-at-pren*

according to Mr. Stokes. In W. the form *dywespuŷd*¹ is found for the commoner form *dywedpuŷd* 'it was said', *dywespuŷd* being for *dywed-* or *dywet-puŷd*, cf. M. W. *clywyspuŷd* (from *clywed*).

48. — 15). The appearance in M. Br. of the two particles *ez*, *ent*, which are considered to be identical, has led to the supposition (see *R. C.*, 18, p. 310) that even in Br., as in W., *n* before certain consonants became *th* (Br. *t*). Regularly Br. has *nt*, e. g. W. *ewythr*, Br. *eoñtr*. See further *R. C.*, 9, p. 382.

W. itself seems to have two forms in the word *cynrhonyn* by the side of *cynthron*, Br. *controunenn* cf. *Penrhyn* (a place-name), which in the colloquial language has developed an epenthetic consonant *d* or *t* (as in *Hendri* for *Henry*), becoming *Pendryn* or *Pentryn*, this developing further to *Penthryn*.

1. The form *dywespuŷd* may, however contain an old participle **dywes* cf. *deth-puŷd*, *daeth-puŷd*.

ADDITION OF CONSONANTS IN W. AND BR.

Prothesis — Epenthesis — Epithesis.

I. Prothesis.

49. — a) Prothetic *g* :

1). Owing to the shifting of the consonantal element in a diphthong, such as *uy* > *yy*, a further change has arisen in W. and Br. when the initial vocalic *u* of a diphthong became thus a consonantal *u*, it followed naturally that this should have initially a *g* before it in the radical form, as an early *u* demanded in Brythonic a *g* before it initially. In some of the older forms it is found medially also, e. g. O. Br. *dorguid* (W. *derwydd*), O. W. *leguenid* (Mod. W. *llawenydd*), *enguis* (cf. Mod. W. *enwi*).

This demand for a *g* before initial *u* has been extended in W. and Br. to words borrowed into these languages (apart from the Lat. loanwords, where it is the rule for *u*- to become *gu*-). In W. the *g* is added to the initial *w* of E. words, in Br. to the *v* of Fr. words.

Exs. :

W. *wybren* > **uybren* > *gwybren*, *wylo* > **uyllo* > *gwylo*, *wyneb* > **uynneb* > *gwyneb*.

Among the E. loanwords in W. the following occur, *gwâr* E. *ware* (*W. S.*); *gwald*, *gwalt* E. *welt* (*W. S.*); *gwantan* E. *wanton*; *gwarant* E. *warrant*; *gwassael* E. *wassail* (as in *W. Llŷn*, LIX, 86 *gwassel* dan *gesail* deunant); *gwedrod* (plur.), *gweddrod*, E. *wether*; *gwindas* E. *wyndace* (*W. S.*); *gwiced* E. *wicket*; *gwastio* E. *waste*; *gwirs* E. *wires*; *gwindio* E. *wind*; *Gwindsor* E. *Windsor* (*I. Goch*, p. 113. Aur Gwnsall eryr *Gwinsor*).

Br. *gwlâ*, M. Br. *gwla* 'to weep' (cf. W. *gwle*, *gwle*) as in R. C., 8, p. 966 *gouelo* tenn (des larmes amères); *goabren*, *gouabren* 'cloud, sky' (cf. W. *wybre*n, *gwybre*n), as in R. C., 10, p. 275 En *gouabren* un steren (dans le ciel une étoile). R. C., 3, p. 80 A beb *garben*, peb *gaouad* (à chaque nuage, une ondée), R. C., 12, p. 169 béd en *couabren* (jusqu'au ciel); *goel* Fr. voile in R. C., 8, p. 248 didan *goel* (à la voile), *gwagen* 'wave' Fr. *vague*.

2). W. and Br. have also added *g* to initial vowels. Like many other initial changes in W. and Br., this is due to the influence of initial 'mutation', because in certain cases the *g*, when it is organic, falls off in the so-called 'middle' mutation. In W. it falls off regularly, in Br. only in the initial group *gwl-*, but the *g* (or *h*) arising from *g* in the 'middle' mutation occasionally disappears altogether. See Ernault's *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 6.

The addition of *g* in such cases is much more common in W. than in Br.

Br. exs. are *gober* 'to make' for *ober*; *gildeau* (for which see R. C., 25, p. 67); Vann. *girin* 'plums' for *irin* (W. *eirin*), and *giein* 'nails' for *iein* (W. *ewin* and *gewin*).

W. exs. are *gordd* 'sledge-hammer' (O. W. *ord*, Ir. *ord*); *gallt* for *allt*; *gewin* for *ewin* 'nail, finger-nail' (probably through confusion with *giewyn* for *gieuyn* from *giau* 'sinews').

In the E. loan-words *gonest* for *onest* E. *honest*; *gorne*st 'struggle' E. *ornest*, O. E. *eornest*; *gorffreis*, *gorfffoys* in M. W. from M. E. *orfreys*, *orfreis*; *gwerlys* and *werlys* from E. *orles*; *gordro* from E. *order*.

In the W. dialects it is carried even further, as e. g. in N. W. *garddern* 'wrist' for *arddern*, *gad*do 'promise' for *addaw*, etc., and in S. W. *genaid* 'soul' for *enaid*, *goer* 'cold' for *oer* etc.

3). In a few cases in W. and Br. *g*¹ is added to an initial consonantal *i*.

In W. *giar* plur. *gieir* dial. for *iar*, *gildio* from E. *yield*.

In Br. this takes place mainly in the dial. of Vann. e. g.

1. This *g* may be partly a development of the *i*.

guiolh plur. *guiolhi* (Léon *iourc'h*, W. *icwrch* 'a roebuck'); also in some parts of Vann. *giein* for *iein* 'cold', *gir* for *yîr* 'hens' (See R. C., 3, p. 47); cf. Br. *geo* by the side of *ieo* 'yoke', W. *iau*; M. Br. *Guenveur*, Mod. Br. *Genveur*, W. *Ionawr*, Lat. *Januārius*.

4) Occasionally a *g* is added to an initial liquid or nasal in W. and Br. e. g.

Br. *glazard*, Vann. *glasart*, presumably from Fr. *lézard*, changed under the influence of *glaz* 'green, blue'; the plur. *glasardet* occurs in R. C., 9, p. 149.

In W. *gnaws* for *naws* seems to be the only case, Br. *neuz*; cf. Br. *penaoz* 'how?' The W. *gnaws* may owe its form to the Ir. *gnás*, cf. Ir. *nós* from W. *naws*?

50. — b). Prothetic *s*.

In a few cases there appears a parasitic *s* before initial consonants in W. and Br., mainly in the loanwords from E. and Fr. In Br. this *s*, with one exception, is added to initial *cl* (*kl*)

Exs. in Br.

M. Br. *sclear* (also *sclaer*, *scler*) from Fr. *clair* (cf. however, the early Fr. form *e(s)clairer*; M. Br. *sclaç*, Mod. Br. *sklas* from Fr. *glace*; *sclaçeu* (*L. Ch.*) 'classes'; Br. *skleur* is according to *L. E. (H.)* from Lat. *clārus*; *skloka* 'to cluck' has been compared with the W. *clwcian*, *clocian* of the same meaning; the W. forms are almost certainly borrowed from E.; *stripen* from Fr. *tripe*.

Among the native Br. words the following may be exs. :

M. Br. *sclezrenn* 'a scraper, rake' by the side of *clezrenn*, Vann. *scléreenn*; cf. W. *cledren*; bas-vann. *sclom*, Vann. *clom*, M. Br. *coulm*.

In W. the following may be exs. in the W. dial. : *slaes* 'a lash, stripe' possibly from E. *lash* or *lace*; *sgwthio* for *gwthio* 'to shove, push'; *scudyll* or *scidill coch* for *cudyll coch* 'a kite, kestrel'; *sgil* as in *ar sgil* 'behind' may be for *cil*.

51. — c). In the W. word *iach* by the side of *ach* 'genea-

logy, lineage' as given by Dr. Davies in his Dic. we seem to have an ex. of prothetic *i*. This form occurs in many W. mss.

Cf. epenthetic *i* in W. and Br. § 55, 4).

52. — II. Epenthesis.

1. Epenthetic nasal.

a). The insertion of a nasal in words (especially loanwords) is a wide-spread custom in Br. This nasalization is not without its counterpart in W. also. In the dial. of N. W. one hears :

hwnda for *hwde* 'take thou'; *neindio* and *nindio* for *neidio* 'jump'; *mwyndro* for *muydro* 'molder, confuse'; *yndrach* and *ydrach* for *edrych* 'see'; *yndu*, *yndi*, *yndan*, *yndyn* for *ydyf*, *ydyw*, *yawm*, *ydynt* 'I am, he is, we are, they are' from *bed* 'to be'; cf. *hyndroi* and *hydroi* for **mydroi* from *yndroi* 'loiter'; *muncelis* for *bwcelis*,? from E. *buckles* M. E. *boeles*; cf. also O. W. *disuncnetic* (gl. exanclata) by the side of Mod. W. *sugno* 'to suck'.

In the W. loanwords from E. the following words have *m* before a labial :

bwmwbl E. *bubble*; *tampr* E. *taper* in *D. G.*, p. 236. A *thampr* o ddewis mis Mai | A thrwmpis y gerdd a' i thrimplai; (*tapr*, *tapyr* are commoner forms as in *R. B. H.*, II, p. 392; *tapreu* kwyr, and *Campan Charlymaen*, p. 48, *tapyr* cwyr); *trimplai* in *D. G.* (see above) is supposed to be from E. *thriples* for O. E. *þripel*; *trwmpis* in *D. G.* (see above) may be from E. *thropple* 'wind-pipe', O. E. *þrotbolla* 'wind-pipe'.

In Br. there are many exs., with *n* before dentals and *m* before labials :

M. Br. (E.) *amgroes*, *angroas* 'fruits de l'églantier' (W. *egroes*); *caufard* 'cafarid'; *Hamblit* in *deŷ yaou H.* (W. *dydd Iau Cablyd*, Ir. *caplat*, Lat. *capitilavium*); *mintr* 'mitre', *tripal* and *trimpal* 'triper'; in *L. Ch.* *mintin* 'matin' from Lat. *matutina* (W. *meityn*); *amboudans* 'abundance'; *hembronc* (W. *hebrwng* 'to accompany'); *bemb* by the side of *heb* (W. *heb* 'without, past'); in *L. E. (H.)*, *ampart* M. Br. *apert* from O. Fr. *apert*; *beñto*

nik 'bétoine', Lat. *betonica*; *beñdel* for *bedel* (cf. W. *both* and *bothell*); Ir. *miñt* 'mite'; Vann. *mangoer*, O. Br. *macoer* (W. *mageoyr*); Nandeleg 'Christmas' (W. *Nadolig*); *imbrel* 'April', (Léon *ebrel*, W. *Ebrill*); cf. R. C., 8, p. 250 *ompinion*, but p. 254 *opinion*; R. C., 8, p. 474 an *mintr* 'la mitre'; R. C., 19, p. 335 *racris impocrisi* Fr. *hypocrisie*; R. C., 11, p. 340 *engal*, Fr. *égal*, is only an apparent example, being like another Br. form *ingal* from Mid. Fr. *ingal*.

b). Epenthetic *n* before sibilants.

A peculiar feature of Br. is that it has an epenthetic nasal very frequently before a sibilant sound, especially in loanwords from Fr. The exact nature of the sibilant, in connection with which this takes place, is a moot point. In *L. Ch.*, p. 241 we are taught that Br. final *cc* or *cz* had the sound of *s*, the same sound as *c* before slender vowels. But M. Ernault in R. C., 11, pp. 251 sqq. contends that this is incorrect. He proposes to differentiate between *s* and a soft *c*. The latter, he says, originates mainly, of course, from Fr., but he gives exs. of the same in native Br. words, with two possible origins (1) from $\chi + s$, (2) from final χ . He regards the soft *c*-sound as being nearer *ch* than *s*.

The *n* arose in Br. before the *c* (followed by *i* or *e*), before *ss*, *sc*, *s* (final), and before *ts* (or *ds*), *ch(e)*, and *ç*.

The introduction of a nasal under similar circumstances is not unknown in some parts of Wales, in loanwords from E.

The exs. in Br. are :

beñs (also *bes*) 'vesce' L. E. (H.); *būs* and *mūs* 'muids' L. E. (H.); M. Br. *blecc* 'wound', *blessa* 'to wound' are found as *bleñcz*, *bleçza* in dial. of Cap Sizun, from O. Fr. *blecier* (see R. C., 26, p. 331); *charoñs* from Fr. *jarosse* (as in R. C., p. 200 eur *charronz* 'un carrosse', p. 202 he *garronz* 'son carrosse'); *krañchat* 'cracher' Ir.; Vann. *diñs* for *dis*, M. Br. *diçc* from O. Fr. *deç* L. E. (H.); *didronce* in R. C., 7, p. 328 Unn *toque didronce* *annehon* 'un chapeau non relroussé par dessus'; *loñch* 'loche, poisson de mer' Ir.; *mañsouner* and *masouner* 'maçon' Le Gon.; *manchouer* 'mâchoire'

in R. C., 11, p. 300; *groñs* 'hardi' from Lat. *grossus* L. E. (H.); (cf. *A. f. C. L.*, p. 606 *gronç*); *pūs*, R. C., 15, p. 266 en *puns* an Iferniou 'dans les puits des Enfers', Vann. *punce*, plur. *punceu* from Fr. *puits*; *peñs* 'fesse' L. E. (H.); *pinsin* from O. Fr. *piscine* L. E. (H.); *poñsin* Fr. *poussin* L. E. (H.); *poin* 'vol', *poinsa* 'voler', *poinser* 'voleur' all from Fr. argot *poisser*; *troñs* from Fr. *trousse* L. E. (H.); M. Br. *vicc* 'vis pour monter', Vann. *vins*. Cf. *brons* by the side of *brous* (see L. E. (H.) s. v.).

This nasalization arises in W. under similar conditions, viz. before soft *g* (as in E. *-age*), final *s*, und *sh* (M. E. *ch*, *sch*). The soft *g* and *ch* may have had at the time of borrowing a dental element in them, as they certainly had later in the history of E., and have in mod. E., Ellis (*E. E. P.*, p. 207) dealing with the E. sounds *Ch*, *J*, *G*, says: "*Ch*, *J*, *G*, are also *tsh*, *dzh* when corresponding to the present French sounds *sh*, *zh*. Palsgrave admits that the French *ch* is English *sh*, but he makes the French and English *j* identical. It is not easy to determine whether in very old French *ch*, *j* were read *tsh*, *dzh* or *sh*, *zh*".

In any case, the sounds had a dental element in E. in the 16th. c., as may be gathered from the remarks made by W. S. in his Dictionary.

With the addition of *n* in W. before dental + sibilant, compare that in Br. before *ts* and *ds* above.

Exs. in W. :

ciaraens or *ciarains* (as in *ciaraens* trêñ, clôs *ciaraens*) E. *carriage*; W. S. has *karias* 'carryage'; *cwsberins* or *gwsberins* E. *gooseberries*; *cwrbins* (and *cwrbits*) 'a beating, a licking' from E. *koorbash*, *corbage*, earlier *kourbash*, *courbash*, *courbache*, *coorbatch* (cf. Fr. *courbache*, German *karbatschen*); *redeins* and *redyns* E. *radish*, M. E. *redich*, *radiche*; *relins* (and *relings*) in N. W. dial. from E. *relish*; the dial. *ponsio* 'to meddle, bother' may be from E. *botch* (there is also a W. dial. form *poitsio*); dial. *grinjio*, *greinjio* or *grynjio* 'to grudge' may be from the E. *grudge*.

53. — 2). Epenthetic *r*.

Exs. in Br. : *artriclou* in R. C., 8, p. 278 *artriclou* fez 'articles de foi'; *arsaut* Fr. *assault*; *dibourcha* Tr., from Fr. *déboucher*; M. Br. *H. ordrenancz*, Fr. *ordonnance*, but cf. Fr. *ordre*; M. Br. (E.) *rebreig* and *rebeig*, Mod. Br. *rebech*, Vann. *rebraichein* from O. Fr. *rebecher*; Mod. Br. (Trég.) *martolod* (Le Clerc, p. 188 tad ar *martolod* 'le père du matelot'); *penestr* and *penestr* (W. *fffenestr*, Lat. *fenestra*).

Exs. in W. :

aelgerth 'chin', earlier *aelgeth* (as in D. G.) M. Br. *elguez*; *brytheirio* (W. S. *bretheirio*) for *bytheirio*; *gorllewin* may be for *gollewin*, cf. *Lib. Land. gullengin*; *llidiart* 'a kind of gate', pl. *llidiardau* as in D. G., p. 39 *Llidiardau* *dagrau digrwyf*; W. Llŷn in his *Geiriadur* has *llidiarth*. The word has probably been borrowed from E. at an early period; in O. E. *hlid* or *hlidzeat*, M. E. *lidyate*, *lidezate*, later *lidgate*. In Mod. E. dialects it is *lidgate* and *lidyate*; *llewyrch* 'light, gleam' *llewyrchu* 'to shine' for M. W. *llewych*, *llewychu*, cf. Goronwy Owain 'Y wenlloer yn oer ei nych, | Hardd leuad nŷ rydd *lewych*'; *syfrdanu* 'to stun, to astound' seems to be for *syfrdanu* from Lat. *subitaneus*.

54. — 3). Epenthetic consonants between consonants : in O. Br. *strum* (gl. *copia*), see Ped. § 50, 3; M. Br. *stlaon* from **sil hañv* according to Ped. § 331; W. *yslwn* see *ibid.*; Stokes (B. Gl. O.) s. v. *stloit prenon*, says that *stloit* stands for *sloid*, and compares W. *ysled*, Ir. *slaod*, O. E. *slidan*; he cites other exs. *stlabez* 'ordure', *stlaon* 'anguille' and *estlam* 'étonnement'.

In W. we have a dental between *n* and *r* in *andros*, *andras* for *an-ras* (from *gras*), *Hendri* for E. *Henry*; *Pendryn* and *Pen-thryn* for *Penrhyn*, a place-name.

When compared with the mod. E. forms the following W. loanwords appear to have an epenthetic *g* or *c* between *s* and *l*, but in M. E. there were two forms, one with *s* and another with *sc* :

ysglisen 'a slice' M. E. *slice*, *sclice*, O. Fr. *eslice*; *ysglander*

'slander' M. E. *sclaundre* O. Fr. *esclandre*; *ysglent* 'a slide, M. E. *slenten*, *scleden*; *ysglatus* 'slates' (W. S. *ysclatyssen* A *sclate*) M. E. *slat*, *sclat*.

The intercalation of *p* between *m* and *n* is of frequent occurrence in Br. The generally accepted explanation of the appearance of a *p* after the *m*-ending of the 1 Pers. Plur. of the verbal forms is that the *p* is a fulcrum between the *m* and the *n* of the 1 Pers. Plur. Pron. *ni*, which generally followed it, see § 59.

M. Br. (E.) *columpuenn* and *colupnen* 'a column', *dampnaf* 'to condemn'; cf. *darempret* W. *darymred*; *Sampson* 'Samson', *hymfn* 'hymn'.

W., however, has a tendency to drop the *p* when it does occur in such positions in the loanwords from E. e. g. *cwmni* 'company'; *preswmsiwn* in W. S. 'presumption', *temlasiwn* 'temptation'; but cf. O. W. *sumpl* (gl. *stimulus*), Mod. W. *swmbwl* and *swmwl*.

55. — 4). Epenthetic *i* and *v* in W. and Br.

Mention is made in Ped. § 218 of another case of insertion of consonant, not exactly in the middle of a word, but in a closely-connected word-group, as in M. Br. *me a ia*, *me a yel*, *me yelo* 'I shall go', *a yeŷ* '(who) went', *a ioa* '(who) was'. The mod. W. spoken language has a trace of this also after *i*, e. g. in N. W. *mi ya i* for *mi af i* 'I shall go', *mi yeis* for *mi eis* 'I went'; cf. §§ 51, 83.

There is also mentioned the addition of *ɹ* in such expressions as *aualc'h a v-oad ak a v-oelvan*, 'enough blood and weeping'. It has been said that the *f* in such W. words as *lle-fydd* (pl. of *lle* 'place'), *llyfon* (pl. of *llw* 'oath, pledge') *gwy-ryfon* (pl. of *gwyry* 'virgin') is an epenthetic *f*, but it is more likely that the *f* in such cases has arisen from an intervocalic *g* or (*r*)*g*, and that the *y* is merely a swarabhakti vowel; for we have a form *gwev* by the side of *gwevy*, also *gwevydd*, with interchange of *j* and *dd* as in *gweŷus* and *gweddus* 'lip', *pendefig* and *pendeddig* 'prince, chief'.

III. Epithesis.

Epithetic consonants are generally added to other final

consonants. In W. and Br. the consonants that have been added are *l*, *n*, *r*; *c(g)*, *b(p)*.

56. — a). Epithetic *l*.

As *l* was frequently lost in W. and Br. as final consonant in a consonantal group, it was sometimes added superfluously. Exs. :

Br. *boestl* and *boest* from O. Fr. *boiste*; *gwerbl* given by Tr. and Le Gon. may be the same as O. Br. *guerþ* (see R. C., 25, p. 278); *ruskl* and *rusk* 'bark of a tree', W. *rhisg* and *rhisgl*, Cornish *rusc*; L. E. (H.) has *riska* and *riskla* 'to glide, slip', *trañk* and *trañkl*, comparing Fr. *triquet* and O. Fr. *trinc*; Tr. has *trokl* and *trok*, from Fr. *troc*.

W. *cwrwgl* and *cwrwg* 'a coracle' Ir. *curach*; *dysgl* (Lat. *discus*); *awdl* (Lat. *ōda*); *rhisgl* and *rhisg* 'bark of trees'; *tymestl* 'a tempest'; *Tegeingl*, a part of N. W., Flintshire, is supposed to be from the tribal name *Decangi*.

57. — b). Epithetic *n*.

M. Br. (E.) *attorn* from Fr. *atour* (cf. Fr. *atourner*).

W. *miswrn* 'a vizor', as in Gr. Roberts, Welsh Grammar, Repr. R. C., p. [360] *Mynn yn dŷn i'r man i del*. *Miswrn* fal arth a mŷssel (Gr. Hiraethog); *masarn* and *basarn* 'mazer-tree, maple'; *siswrn* 'scissor(s)'.

58. — c). Epithetic *r*.

L. E. (H.) has *lastr*, borrowed like Fr. *lest* from how German *last*; *legestr*, W. *llegestr*, both from a Low-Lat. **lecista* ¹ for *locusta*; *mistr* from O. Fr. *miste*; *sapr* and *sap* from 'un gaul-latinisée **sap-us*'; *sabr* 'sap' from O. E. *saep*, Mod. E. *sap*, Br. *gast* (W. *gast* 'bitch') has become *gastr*; Fr. *jeste* > Br. *jestr*, Fr. *lest* > Br. *lastr*.

In W. the form *herodr* is a doubtful form of the word *herod* 'herald' from M. E. *herode*, *heraud*.

1. This conjecture seems rather improbable.

59. — d). Epithetic *p* (*b*).

In Br. the supreme case is that of the 1 Pers. Plur. forms of the Verb. The question whether this arose between the *m* of the suffix and the initial *n* of the Pers. Pron. *ni* is fully discussed in *R. C.* 16 pp. 201 sqq. See also *Indg. Forsch.* 1 pp. 50 sqq. cf. Br. *lamp* 'a leap' W. *llam*, *memb* (L. Ch.) Fr. *même*.

In W. there seem to be no certain examples except perhaps *swmp* in *R. B. H.*, II, p. 360 Gwedy cael *swmp* o arian. The common form is *swm* M. E. *somme*, *summe*.

60. — e). Epithetic *t*.

In W. and Br. *t* is sometimes added to final *n* and *s*, in W. to *ll* and *ff* also.

Br. *dreist* (Vann. *dres*, *drest*) W. *dros* 'over, above'; *broust* 'thicket' from Fr. *brousse* L. E. (H.).

M. Br. *tirant* Fr. *tyran*; in *R. C.* 25 p. 318 *Sultant* 'Sultan', cf. *truant* from Fr. *truand*, which according to L. E. (H.) is itself from Br. (W. *truan*); Vann. *inkañd*, *inkañt* Fr. *encan* (Tr.), is from a Mid. Fr. form *encant*.

W. *ditawnt*, variant of *dilaen*, 'dittany', early E. *dytane*, *dyteyne*; *vergrist* 'vergrece' W. S., later E. *verdigris*; *ffalst* = *ffals* 'false' in M. A. p. 365 a *ffalst* ac anghlaer; *pendist* 'pentice' earlier E. *pendis*; *Simwnt* 'Simon' in *R. B. H.*, II, p. 378 *Simwnt* Mwnford (possibly formed after *Edmwnt* 'Edmund'); *Dyfnaint* 'Devon' from tribal name *Dumnonii*; *gofaint* plur. of *gof*, for *gofain*¹; cf. dial. *drost* for *dros* 'over' *truwest* from E. *truce*; *tunallt* for *tunell* 'a ton'; *teligrafft* 'telegraph'; *sifllt* or *silfft* for *silff* 'shelf'; *bwyallt* for *bwyell* 'axe'; *angraifft* and *engraifft* (M. W. also *agriff*. Cf. O. Ir. *angraib* Lat. *antigraphum*).

61. — 1). Epithetic *c* (*g*) after final *s*.

M. Br. *fresq*² 'frais', *jonisc* from Fr. *jaunisse*; *putoesq*,

1. *gofaint* may be due to such a plur. form as *ceraint*.

2. Cf. North Fr. fem. form *freske*.

puloasq, later *pudask* from Fr. *pulois*; *Barnabasq* 'Barnabas', cf. also M. Br. *fesqu-enn* from Fr. *fesse*.

In W. *ffresg* or *ffresc* by the side of *ffres*, *ffrais* 'fresh', and *bloesg*, which according to Ped. § 132. 2 is from Lat. *blaesus*, may be exs. of this addition of *c* (*g*).

In the dial. of N. W. there is a tendency to add *c* or *g* to the final *s* in such words as *anosg* for *anos* 'more difficult', *diddosq* for *diddos* 'sheltered', literally 'without (rain)-drops', *pythefnosg* for *pythefnos*. In Lleyn *pis* 'whooping-cough' is pronounced *pāsg*.

Loss of Consonants in W. and Br.

Initially, medially, and finally.

I. Initially.

62. — 1). The initial consonant *v* (W. *f*) arising from *b* or *m* under middle-mutation, disappears occasionally in W. and Br.

a) Before another consonant.

In the Br. dial. of Trég. *v* is dropped in such a group as *daon 'lá* for Léon *daou vloaz* 'two years' W. *dwy flwydd* (See Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 5). In the dial. of Ouessant *v* is lost in a combination like *da Rest* for *da Vrest* 'to Brest' (see footnote to R. C. 16 p. 205). Cf. Br. *lein* 'top, summit' for **vlein*, M. Br. *blein* L. E. (H.), Léon *ar lein* Trég. *war lein* 'above'.

In W. we may have an ex. in *eleni* 'this year', which contains the same word *blwydd-yn*, in Br. *hevlene*, which seems to be composed of this substantive with the Article or Demons. Pronoun. cf. *y llynedd* 'last year', possibly for *yr flynnedd* > *yr lynedd* > *y llynedd*, as in *y llaw* 'the hand' for *yr law*; Léon *varlene*, Trég. *arlene*, *erlaine*.

In M. W. there is a word *eissyfflad* ¹ 'hell', which also occurs in the forms *eissyflat*, *eissyf wlad* (as in M. A. p. 27) and *issaf wlad* (as in M. A. p. 74), and apparently means

1. According to Prof. Sir E. Anwyl, this is a loan-word from the Lat. *ex-sibilatus* 'hissed out'.

'the nethermost region'. In the former forms the *z* has been lost. In the N. W. dial. expressions like 'tyd yn d' *laen*' for 'tyrd yn dy *flaen*' are frequent.

b). Before vowels.

Br., like W., dropped the *v* arising from *m* under mutation (in apposition) of the word *mab* 'son (of)', mutated *vab* or *fab*. It occurs in the form *ab* in *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.), e. g. *Abgwan*, *Abavin*, etc. In the O. Br. Charters also there is no trace of *v*. In the Br. dial. of Ouessant initial *v* is lost in such combinations as *ar edred* for *ar vedred* (W. *beddrod*) 'the grave-yard', *ar eleien* for *ar veleien* 'the priests'. Cf. (a) above and see *R. C.* 16 p. 208.

In W., as in Br., the *f* of *fab* 'son of' disappears in proper-names as a rule, giving *ab* (*ap*), of which these are innumerable exs., *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, etc.

Sometimes only the final labial *b* (or *p*) is left in such names as *Bellis* for *Ab Ellis*, *Parri* for *Ab Harri*, *Powel* for *Ab Howel*.

The W. word *ychydig* is related to *bach*, *bychan*, M. W. *bychod*, and stands for *fychydig*, mutated form of *bychydig*, which is often found so written. In some of the older genealogies and elsewhere *Ichan* and *Ychan* are found for *Fychan* from *bychan* 'small'. Another case is *uch*, also found in the genealogies, and may have developed from *jerch* from *merch* 'daughter'. The form *ach* is also found, and may possibly be another form of the same word, e. g. 'Marged *uch* Ifan' and 'Nanws *ach* Rhobert' well-known characters in N. W. in the last century.

In N. W. *achan*, used parenthetically in conversation, is for *fachgen*¹, mutated form of *bachgen* in address; cf. dial. *ella* for *feallai* 'perhaps', *y* for *fy* 'my' as in *yn y myw*, *yn y mhen* etc., also *p'odd* for *pa fodd* 'how', *petai* for *ped fai* if he were'. The common forms *i* and *innau* stand for *fi* and *finnau*, and arose originally most probably after final *f* in such forms as

1. Or rather for *fachin* from *bachan* another form of *bachgen* < **bachghen*, the spirant *gh* being hardened to *g* in one case, and disappearing in the other.

gennyf i 'by me' *gwelaf innau* 'I also see', then transferred to such forms as *fy mhen i* 'my head', *gwelais innau* 'I, too, saw'.

63. — 2). Loss of initial *i* in W. and Br.

Br. *eeun*, *eun* 'right', is W. *iawn* ¹ Ir. (*fin*)*ián* (W. *gwirion*). Cf. Br. *aü*, *av* 'liver' by the side of W. *iau*, *afu*, Ir. *éa*.

i has been lost in W. before *y* and in Br. before *i* in *yrch*, M. W. plur. of *iwrch* 'roe-buck' (Mod. Pl. *iyrchod*, as in *Caniad Solomon* 3, 5), Br. *ilc'hier*, pl. of *ialc'h* 'purse'; cf. W. *Iddew* from Lat. *Judaeus*; *Ithel*, O. Br. *Iuthael*, M. Br. *Iuzel*; W. *ustus* 'justice' as in *Ustus Heddwch* 'Justice of the Peace', from M. E. *iustice*, *Iustice*; but cf. *Yr Iustus Llwyd*, name of one of the Gogynteirdd. The initial *i* (*y*) of E. is often dropped in the E. spoken by certain classes of W. people. Similarly *u* (*w*) of E. is lost before *o* or *u*. This is found in the loanwords, e. g. *wdroyth*, *wdrwyth*, *wdrwth*, M. E. *woodruffe*, *wdward*, *wtwart* 'woodward', *wstud* 'worsted'.

64. — 3). We have already seen how W. and Br. added a *g* to some initial vowels. W. seems to have dropped an initial *g* in *ogof* (for *gogof*), *elor* (for *gelor*), *efail* 'smithy' (for *gefail*, cf. *gof* 'smith'), *euog* 'guilty' (for *geuog*, cf. *gau* 'false').

II. Medially.

65. — 1). Loss of intervocalic *v* (f) and *w* in W. and Br.

a). In Br. :

aü for *avü*, *afu*; *bual* (Lat. *būbalus*); M. Br. *Broerec* for older *Brouueroc*; M. Br. *coabrennou* for **couff-oabren-*; M. Br. *dád* (16th. c) for later *daved*, *devad* (18th. c.) 'towards'; *deut* 'come ye', cf. W. *dyfod*; Vann. *eit* for Léon *evit*; Vann. *el*

1. The O. Br. *eunt*, M. Br. *effü*, O. Cornish *eun-* seem, however, to be the older forms. Cf. O. W. *nem-beunaur* in the Juvenius poem; see Thurneysen, *Indg. Forsch. (Anzeiger)*, 26, p. 26.

for Léon *evel*; M. Br. *eon* for O. Br. *euon-oc* W. *ewyn*; M. Br. *goanac*, W. *gofynag*; M. Br. *gaes* (? from O. Fr. *gavois*); M. Br. *gouarn*, Fr. *gouverner*; M. Br. *gueus* W. *gwe-fus*, *gwëus*; *gouer*, Vann. *goære* W. *gofer*; M. Br. *Hoel* for earlier *Houuel* W. *Howel*, *Hywel*; Vann. *laret*. Léon *lavaret*, W. *llefaru*; M. Br. *paun*, Lat. *pavôn-is*, W. *paun*; M. Br. *saour* and *sauour* Fr. *saveur*; R. C., 8, p. 80 *soueran* Fr. *sou-verain*; R. C. 15 p. 352 *Olier* 'Oliver'; Br. *bual* Lat. *fibula*; M. Br. *scouarn*, *scouarnec*. Vann. *scoarn*, *scoarnec*, W. *ysgyfarnog*.

b). In W. :

bual, O. W. *fual* (gl. *fibula*); *bual*, Lat. *bubalus*; *ceis* for *cefaïs* (M. W. *ceis*, *ceveis*) and other forms of the verb *cael*, *caffel*; *codi* for *cyfodi*; *deyd* for *dywed* 'say thou'; *dôd* for *dyfod*; *cwrdd* for *cyfwrdd* 'to meet' (N. W. *cyfwr*); *gwëus* for *gwefus* (dial. also *gweddus*); *paun* from Lat. *pavôn-is*; S. W. *moin* for *ymofyn* 'to seek'.

66. — 2). Loss of intervocalic Br. *z*, W. *dd*.

a). In Br.

Vann. *aourn*, Léon *azourn*, *arzourn*, W. *arddwrn* 'wrist'; M. Br. *baraζoes*, Mod. Br. *baradoz*, Vann. *baraouez*; M. Br. *daouζourn* and *douζorn*, later *daourn* (18th. c.), W. *deu-ddwrn*; *badeour*, M. Br. *badeζour*, W. *bedyddiwr*; *goug*, M. Br. *gouζouc* W. *gwddw*, *gwddj*, *gwddwg* (S. W.); *guezén* 'tree', later *goen*, Vann. *güen*; M. Br. *gouζout* 'to know', later *gout*; *gwif* for **gouif*, *gouζif*, W. *gwyddif* 'hedging-bill'; Vann. *rouell*, Léon *ruzel*, W. *rhuddell*.

b). In W. :

M. W. *mywn*, Mod. W. *mewn* (N. W. *miawn*, S. W. *miwn*) is supposed to be cognate with Ir. *medón*; in the N. W. dial *wsti be* for *wyddost ti beth*; also *own* for *oeddw*; cf. *tôdd* for *toddod* from *toddi*.

67. — 3). Loss of *v*, *f* before liquids and nasals.

a). In Br. :

L. Ch. *on*, M. Br. *aon*, *aoun*, W. *ofn*; M. Br. *quein*, *queyn*

W. *cefn*, M. Br. *quenderu*, *quinteru* W. *cefn**der*, *cyfn**lher*; Tr. *kan*, *kan-dour* 'gouttière de maison' may be a shortened form of Fr. *canal* or the same word as W. *catn*, *cafn-dwr* of the same meaning; L. Ch. (M. Br. chart.) *don* in *Donuallon* later *doun*, W. *dwfn*; M. Br. *dour*, W. *dwr*, *dwfr*; Tr. *lor*, *lovr*, M. Br. *loffr*, W. *llwfr*; L. Ch. *garik*; *gorik* by the side of *gavrik* W. *gafr*; M. Br. (E.) *pour*, *paur*, Mod. Br. *paour*, Fr. *pauvre*; M. Br. *soul*, W. *ysgwyl*, Fr. *escoufle*.

b). In W. :

annwn for *annwfn*; *dwr* for *dwfr*; *côl* for *cofl*; M. W. *dwysfrein* and *dwysrein*, Mod. W. *dwyrain*; *cenlli* for *cefnlli(f)* (cf. *cefn*-for); *dodren* (N. W.), for *dodrefn* 'furniture'; *ëon* for *ëojn* M. W. *ehofyn*; *yr Eil* for *yr Eifl* (possibly a dual form of *gafl*; *yr Eil* is a local pronunciation of the name of these Carnarvonshire peaks¹); *gwarthal* dial. for *gwrthafst*; *anod-dun* may be for *anoddyfn* from *goddyfn*, cf. O. Ir. *fudumain*; *cynlher* dial. for *cyfnlher*.

68. — 4) Loss of *r* before *n*.

a) In Br. :

M. Br. (E.) *bonn*, *Bounn*; *bounaff*, from O. Fr. *borne*, *bourne*². Vann has also *bonn*; *lukañn* in R. C., 14, p. 274 (grand) *nez*, from Fr. *lucarne*, cf. Mod. Br. *azourn* for *arzourn* (W. *arddwn*), *diouz* (W. *o-ddiwrth*), *ouz* (W. *wrth*).

b). In W. :

Chiefly in the spoken language, e. g. (*g*)*arddwn* for *arddwrn* 'wrist'; *hespwn* for *hespwrn*; *asgwn* for *asgwrn*; *Sadwn* for *Sadwrn*. Cf. Rhobat 'Robert', *ffwlbat* for *ffwlbert*, M. E. *folmarde*; *astalwm* for *erstalm* = *er ys talm*.

1. Cf. *Y Gyrn Goch*.

2. By the side of these forms, however, there is an O. Fr. form *bon(n)e*.

69. — 5). Loss of *n* before *s*, *f*, *r*.

This loss is due to the assimilation of the consonants. For original *ns* becoming *ss* in Celtic, see Ped. § 50, 10. In the loanwords from Lat. *s* and *f(f)* appear for *ns* and *nf*¹, as in W. *cyson* O. Br. *coson* (gl. *canora*) Lat. *consonus*; W. *cusyl*, M. Br. *cusul*, Lat. *consilium*, M. Br. (E.) *tousaff* Lat. *tonsare*; W. *cyffes*, M. Br. *coffes*, Lat. *confessio*; W. *uffern*, M. Br. *iffern*, Lat. *infernum*.

The following occur among the later borrowings:

a) In Br.:

M. Br. *assaign* Fr. *enseigne* (as in R. C., 25, p. 320 dindan *assaign* Iesus 'sous l'enseigne de Jésus'); Tr. *exañ* Fr. *encens*; cf. *ijuler* in R. C. 3 p. 72 Kalon an *ijular* a zo gae 'le cœur de l'engeôleur est gai'; L. E. (H.) *ijin* (and *injin*) from O. Fr. *engin* (Lat. *ingenium*); *yffamus* Fr. *infâme* in R. C. 75 p. 296, but in R. C. 26 p. 202 tut *ynfam* 'gens infâmes'; *afour* Fr. *en foule* in R. C., 21, p. 138; M. Br. *Herri* Fr. *Henri*; *arach* Fr. *enrage-r* in R. C., 26, p. 104 Maximian *arach* 'Maximien enrage'; *istant* Fr. *instant* in R. C., 24, p. 264.

b). In W.:

W. dial. *Jôs* for *Jones*, *Willias* for *Williams*; *cysêt* E. *conceit*, *cysetlyd* 'conceited'; in *Iolo Goch* p. 175, *Kloystir Westminster* 'the cloister of Westminster'; W. S. has *dywgywl lowres* S. *Lawrence* day; *cyffyrddus* from M. E. *conforte*; N. W. *cyfino* for *cyn(e)fino* 'to become used to'; *Harri* 'Henry'. cf. *Parri* and *Penri*.

n is lost before *l* and *m* in dial. *calyn* (*canlyn*), *camol* (*caumol*).

70. — b). Loss of *n* before *t*.

a). In Br.:

M. Br. *quemet*, *quement*, *quemment*, later *Remed*, W. *cymaint*. Mod. Br. *nemeit* Vann. *nemet*, cf. Br. *ment* W. *maint* and *namyn* (? for *namynt*); M. Br. had *nemet*, *nement*

1. The assimilation of the *n* had already taken place in Latin itself.

and *nemert*; M. Br. *enta*, Mod. Br. *eta*, cf. W. *ynte*; M. Br. *gant* Vann. *get*; Br. *kenta*, Vann. *ketañ*, W. *cyntaf*; Mod. Br. *kent* 'before', cf. M. Br. *aguetou*, W. *gynneu* 'a short time ago'; Mod. Br. *etre* and *eñtre* 'entre'.

L. E. (H) *ékañ ékañt*, from O. Fr. *encant*; M. Br. (E.). *setancc* 'sentence', also *setanç* in A. f. C. L. p. 606; *momet* 'moment' in R. C., 26, p. 98 ar *momet* ag an n'eur 'le moment et l'heure'; Vann. *fetan* (Tr.) 'fountain', Léon *feunteun*.

b). In N. W. the literary form *cymaint* is pronounced *cymid*, *cimid* or *cimit*; *gyda* 'with' may be the same word as *gan* for *gant* 'with'; in M. W. the form was *gyt a* or *y gyt a*, showing that the Mod. W. *gyda* is really two words.

71. — 1). Loss of the guttural element of *x*.

For Lat. *x* in W. and Br. see Ped. § 136, 2.

Among the late borrowings, —

a). In Br. :

M. Br. (E.) *vessaf* Fr. *vexer*; *esplet* O. Fr. *exploit*; *issil* 'exil' but *exuly* 'exiler'. These are only apparent exs. as O. Fr. has also the forms *exploit*, *eissil*, *essil*.

R. C., 4, p. 68 en bloaz *biseost* 'l'an bissextile'; R. C., 8, p. 356 da ober *espres* oregon Fr. *expres*, cf. R. C., 25, p. 318 *espres*; R. C., 25, p. 420 *esplicomp scler* 'expliquons clairement'.

b). In W. :

sis as 'six aces' in L. G. C., p. 159 Trwy bob gwregys mal *sis as*.

The E. *x* has its elements separated in some dials. e. g. N. W. *cysact* E. *exact*. *cysam* E. *exam*(ination).

72. — 8). Loss of consonants in other consonantal groups in W. and Br., frequently caused by assimilation.

d : Br. *dichentil*, *ducentil*, plur. *tuchentil*, *tuchentilet* for *tud-gentil* 'gentilshommes', see L. Ch. (V.) s. v.; M. Br. *archdiagon* is Mod. Br. *arriagon* 'archdeacon'; R. C., 15, p. 264 *cepennant* Fr. *cependant*.

W. *prynhawn*, *pyrnhawn*, *p'nawn* for *pryd-nawn*; *ffrins* E. friends in *Cym. Llén Cymr.* III, p. 47; *mopren* for *ymod-bren* (cf. *di-ymod*); *almwns* E. almonds; *grwnsyl* E. groundsel; *Gwinsor* 'Windsor' in *I. Goch* p. 113, *Winsawr* L. G. C. p. 33.

t : M. Br. (E.) *torfet*, *torffet* from O. Fr. *tortfait*.

W. *pompren* for *pontbren*; *minciaz* (dial.) E. mint-cake; *hynsmen* E. huntsmen in L. G. C. p. 28; *tesni* in the expression 'dweyd *tesni* 'to tell fortunes'. E. *destiny*; *Nanlle* for *Nant Lleu*.

c : a *din e toug respet* 'et il me respecte' R. C., 25, p. 334, (in this case, however, the older Fr. pronunciation had no *c*); M. Br. *croupren* and *croucpren*; M. Br. *uitoer*, *uitoar* by the side of *victoer* Fr. *victoire*; *amid* (Tr.) Fr. *sañtual* 'sanctuaire'; *klopenn* for *kloc-penn* (see Ped. § 330).

W. *caritor* E. character; *spectol* (W. S. *spectal*) E. *spectacle(s)*; *clopenn* for *clocpenn* or *clogbenn* (see Ped. § 330); *distain*, *distein* as in M. A. pp. 264 a, 265 a from O. E. *disc-þén* 'dish-servant'.

g : M. Br. (E.) *illur* 'bright' W. *eglwyr*; M. Br. *ilis* 'church' W. *eglwys*. The Fr. *gn* became *n* in M. Br. as in *Anes* Agnès, *din* 'digne', cf. Mod. Br. *dinite* 'dignité' (see R. C., 14, p. 304). These latter forms are not cases of the loss of *g*, as the *gn* denotes an *n* mouillé. W. *arlwydd* by the side of *arglwydd*; *elwissic* an early Ms. form of *eglwysig*; *grwnach* or the commoner *grwgnach*.

ch of W., *c'h* of Br. :

M. Br. *archdiagon* is Mod. Br. *arriagon*.

W. *archiagon* for *archddiagon*; *golffon* for *golchffon*; *gwalstod*, *gwalstard* 'interpreter' in *Mab.* and M. A., pp. 128 a, 277. O. E. *wealh-stod*.

m : M. Br. *tabourin* Fr. *tambourin*, also in R. C. 2, p. 374 he *tapoulin* 'son tambour'.

W. *barclod* 'apron' as in *Cym. Llén Cymr.* II, pp. 20, 21, M. E. *barmcloth*, O. E. *bearmcláþ*; *pythefnos* 'a fortnight' for *pymtheng-nos*.

n : Br. *avy* 'envie' in A. f. C. L. p. 606.

W. *tyrpeg* from E. *turnpike*.

b : M. Br. *sustance* 'substance'.

W. *modrydaf* is said to be for *modr-bydaf* or *-fydaf*; *Hwmr* Humber in *L. G. C.* p. 285 *A'i wayw hyd Hwmr*.

z in Br., *dd* in W. :

M. Br. *seitec*, *seiltec*, Mod. Br. *seitek* 'seventeen' from *seiz* 'seven' and *dek* 'ten'.

W. *gwybod* is for **gwyddbod*; *adyn* for **ad-ddyn*, *atal* for **ad ddal*; *rhogofydd* and *rhegddofydd*, see *R. C.*, 9, p. 174 (Loth); *diwedydd* for *diwedd-dydd*; *gwybwyll* for *gwyddbwyll*; *Dinorwig* for **Din-orddwig* 'the fort of the Ordovices'; cf. dial. *bolon* for *boddlon*, *cerad* for *cerdded*, *ffylon* for *ffyddlon*.

In the W. dialects many other consonants are lost in consonantal groups, e. g. *cymyd* for *cymryd*, *daru* for *darfu*, *allwys* for *arllhys*, *petris* 'partridge', *Margiad* 'Margaret', *westud* 'worsted', *cwmni* 'company'. Cf. loss of *f* in W. *testun* from Lat. *testimōnium*, *egwyddor* from Lat. *abecedārium*, *Urien* for O. W. *Urbgen*; and loss of *w* in *ymoprau* in *Mab.* (*Pwyl P. Dyfed*) for *ym-wobr-hau*.

III. Finally.

73. — 1). Loss of *f(v)* and *w* finally after vowels.

In *Ped.* § 99, 2, we find it stated that in monosyllables in W. a lenated *m* disappears after *a* and *ū*, *wand* in Br. after *ō*, *ū*, also in Br. after other vowels but leaving behind a nasalisation of the vowels; that it also disappears in an unaccented syllable in W. after *i*, e. g. O. W. *erchim*, Mod. W. *erchi*; that lenated *m* never disappears after an unaccented *a*. For Mod. W. the last statement does not hold good, for we have even in the literary language such forms as *gaea* for *gaeaf*; and *-a* for *-af* in superlatives; in some texts, as e. g. in Morgan Llwyd, the *f* of the 1 Pers. sing. of Verbal forms is lost, and the *i* of the Pron. is added e. g. *gwelai* for *gwelaf i*. In the spoken language the loss of the *f* in such forms is regular.

Some early cases of loss of *f* in W. are *cu* 'dear'. M. Br. *cuff*; *daw* 'son-in-law'. M. W. pl. *dofion* M. Br. *deuff*; O. W. *lau*, M. W. and Mod. W. *llaw*, cf. *llofrudd* 'mur-

derer'; *lloflen* 'glove', *llofnod* 'signature', M. W. *unllofjyawc*, 'single-handed'; *rhaw* 'spade' M. Br. *reuff*; *plu* for *pluf* 'feathers' M. Br. *pluff*.

Other later examples found in the written, as well as the colloquial, language are *cla* for *claf* 'ill', *clwy* for *clwyf*, *bwy* for *bwyf*; *Gaea*, *Ha*, *hunlle*, *ne*, *tre*, *pentre*, *cry*, *cyfri*, *difri*, *digri*; *do*, *rho*, *ogo*, etc. The loss of final *w* after vowels in W. occurs in S. W. *beddi* for *beddyw*, N. W. *ydi* for *ydyw*. In Br. the following are exs. of loss of final *ff* and *w*: M. Br. *adevry*, *a deffri*, Mod. Br. *a^zevri* 'seriously' *w. o* *ddifrif*; Br. *sa* 'stand thou' for *sav*, *saf*, *sao* (See R. C., 7, p. 308), and even in M. Br. *cre* for *creff* W. *cryf*; *crisqui* for *crisquiff*; in Mod. Br. *missi* M. Br. *mechif*; *nai* from Fr. *naïf*, *joli* for M. Br. *joliff* (see R. C., 21, p. 142); cf. *plœ*, *plœu*, L. Ch. (M. Br. Chart.), O. Br. Chart. *pluiw* W. *plwyf*. In Br. *w* is lost in M. Br. *gui* for *guin* in the M. Br. Chart. (L. Ch.), O. Br. *uiiu* in the O. Br. Chart. (L. Ch.). W. *gwiw*; *gle* and *gleu* in the M. Br. Chart. (L. Ch.), W. *gloyw*; *edi*, *edy* L. Ch. (V.) 'is' W. *ydyw*.

74. — 2). Loss of final *y* (represented in W. by *w* and in M. Br. by *u*, *o*, in Mod. Br. *v*, *o*, Vann. *hüe* = *ü*) after *l*, *n*, *r*. Cf. § 35.

a) In Br. :

According to Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 5, the dial. of Trég. drops the *v* or *o* in such words as Léon *dero*, Trég. *derv* and *der*, W. *derw*; Trég. *tar* W. *tarw*, cf. Trég. *tar-gaz* 'tom-cat'. Exs. of this loss date back to M. Br. For the Mod. Br. *banv*, *bano*, the Catholicon has *ban*. It seems, however, to be a special feature of the dial. of Trég., at least in the pronunciation, for besides the example cited above, it has *ban* for *banv* or *bano* (W. *enw* 'name'), *inder* for *inderv* 'afternoon'. See R. C., 8, p. 32, where *ar vorskañ* is said to be a Trég. form of *ar varwskaon* or *varvskaon* 'death-couch', W. *mawysgafn* of the same meaning, being a compound of *marw* and *ysgafn* (cf. text in R. C., 12, p. 210 *ar varvscaon* 'les tréteaux funèbres').

In addition to these may be mentioned *han* in *en han Doue* 'in the name of God' (Vann. 17 th. c. See *L. Ch. (V)* s. v. *han*) for *hano* or *hanu* of M. Br., W. *enw*; also *lan* in *en treh hac el lan ag er mor* 'flux et reflux de la mer' (see *L. Ch. (V)* s. v. *lan*), W. *llanw* 'tide'. Cf. further M. Br. (E.) *fer* by the side of *feru* and *ferou*, W. *ffyrf*, from Lat. *firmitas*; *L. E. (H.) hal* by the side of *halv*, *halo*.

b). In W. :

There are several exs. of the loss of *w* after *l, n, r* in W.

Aflér occurs for *afterw* 'untidy, disorderly' of the same meaning as *blér*; *Aman* in the place names *Bryn Aman*, *Cwm Aman* etc., and the river *Aman*, is in M. W. *Amanw*, as in *Mab. Kulhwch ac Olwen* 'Mynydd Amanw'; *arddel* 'to recognize. to own' is probably for *arddelw*, which occurs in *Mab. Pwyll Pendefig Dyved* 'mab ar y harddelw hwy'; W. *Llyn* in his *Geiriadur* has *ymarddel* : *claimio*; *cefnder* 'cousin' for M. W. *cefynderw*; possibly also *cyfnither* 'cousin (fem.)' cf. M. Br. *quiniteru*, but in *Br. Gl. O.* we have *conmider uel nil* (gl. amite) which is the same word; *gwarchod* 'to protect' M. W. *gwarchadw* M. W. *gwarchadw* may have become *gwarchadod* and finally *gwarchod*; *llur* for *llurw* 'track' (Ir. *lorg*, Br. *lerc'h*) in the expression *llur i drwyn* literally 'in the track of his nose', *sal* for *salw* 'mean, poor, sick' O. W. *halou*, cf. *Mab. Kulhwch ac Olwen* 'rac *salwen* oed uynet y ymdaraw ac el', where *salwen* appears to be an error for *salwed* the equative form of *salw*; *syber* for M. W. *syberw* 'stately, noble' from Lat. *superbus* In M. W. dial *nen Tad* is heard for *yn enw(r) Tad* 'in the name of the Father', cf. also *nenor Tad*. In Mod. W. *medd-dodol* 'drunkenness' (from *meddw*) is pronounced *medd-dod*; *cynnwrf* 'commotion' is shortened to *cynnwr*. Cf. *talarw* 'furrow-end' by the poet Cynddelw for the later *talar*.

75. — 3). Loss of final *dd* of W. and *z* of Br.

a). In Br. :

The loss of final *z* is a feature peculiar to the dials. of Trég. and Vann. Where Leon has *z* Trég. has *nil*, e. g. *karañtez* Trég. *karañte* 'love', *deiz* Trég. *dé* 'day' W. *dydd*. (Ernault, *Pet.*

Gramm. Bretonne, p. 5). Likewise in Vann. we have *di*, *dé* rfo Léon *deiz* (R. C. 3, p. 171 *Remarques sur le Bas-Vannetais*, Loth). Cf. *demeuz*, *desa.lorn*, *de:guener*, *dysull* 'Tuesday, Saturday, Friday, Sunday' in *L. Ch.* s. v.

b). In W. :

dy for *dydd*¹ in *dygwz:l* 'feast-day' also in the spoken language in *Dy' Mawth*, *Dy' Llun* etc., except *Dydd Iau* which becomes *Difia*; *goscor* for *goscordd*, see R. C. 29 p. 68; *eiste* for *eistedd*, but *eiste* may be the older form, as it is found in M. W.; *i fyny* 'upwards' for *i fynydd*, the latter being the only M. W. form. In the Mod. W. dialects *dd* often disappears as in N. W. *claw* for *clawdd* (cf. *be* for *beth*), and also after *r* as in *bwr*, *cer*, *gar*, *cwpr* for *bwrdd*, *cerdd*, *gardd*, *cwprdd*. In S. W. it is much more common e. g. *trydy*, *pedwery* for *trydydd*, *pedwerydd*. For S. W. *newi* by the side of *newydd* see R. C., 6, p. 15 (Rhys), and cf. *Dewi* by the side of *Dafydd*.

76. — 4). In the Br. combination *lc'h* arising from **lg-* the *ch* is occasionally dropped, as in the M. Br. 2 Pers. Sing. Imperative form *dal* 'hold thou' by the side of *dalc'h*; cf. R. C. 8, p. 414 *dal* *liufre guenn* 'tiens la blanche livrée' but also *ibid.* *Dalc'h* *badizient* 'Reçois le baptême'. With this may be compared Mod. Br. *eul*, *heul* (W. *ôl*), O. Br. *a olgou* (gl. *indagatione*) possibly for *a olgou* plur. of *olg*, W. *ol*.

In W. the **lg* in such cases develops into *la*, *ly* or *l*, the *a* and *y* being probably epenthetic vowels² originally between the *l* and the lenated *g* (cf. *gwyrf* and *gwryrf*, *gwry* from Lat. *virgo*) e. g. *bola*, *boly*, *bol* Br. *bolc'h*; *dala*, *daly*, *dal* Br. *dalc'h*; *cola*, *col*, O. W. *colginn* (gl. *aristam*). The Br. forms *dal* and *eul* (*heul*) are then isolated forms corresponding in their final form of development to the regular W. forms. The W. *belcyd*, a frequentative from of *bel*, *bela*, *bely*, can hardly have preserved the original guttural.

1. In these cases *dy* may be for *dyw* (*duw*) or *dydd*, which occur side by side in M. W.

2. *a* and *y* may, however, be some development of the lenated *g*.

77. — 5). Loss of final, *d*, *t* after consonants.

a). In Br. :

M. Br. (E.) *epac* from Fr. *épacte* ; *bacc* from O. Fr. *bast* ; *gon* from Fr. *gond* ; B. Gl. O. *soeul* (gl. *fiscum*) possibly, like W. *swllt*, borrowed from Lat. *solidus*, though this is very improbable ; L. E. (H.) *labouz*, M. Br. *lapous*, borrowed from Lat. *locusta* or O. E. *lopust* ; *moués* (Vann. *mouëst*) from. O. Fr. *moiste*. Br. has two forms *trubar* and *trubarl* 'treacherous' see R. C., 25, p. 264).

b). In W. :

albras, *albrys* by the side of *albrast*, *albryst* from E. *arbalest*, *arbalist* or *arblast* 'a cross-bow' ; the word occurs often in early W. e. g. in D. G. p. 136 Traidd o'r *albras* trwyddo eil-brath ; *bors* in *llys y fors*, 'rupture-wort' possibly from some form of the E. *burst* ; *cyfaill* for M. W. *cyfaillt* as in D. G. *Cyfailli* a mab aillt y beirdd ; *cofen*, *cwfen* by the side of *cofaint*, *cwfaint*, M. E. *covent* ; *Hengis* in M. A., p. 120, for *Hengist* ; *tabar* E. *tabard* in M. A., p. 328 Gwerthu'r *tabar* a'r bara ; *tancr*, *tancer* E. *tankard* as in D. G., p. 167 Tincr a'i cant with fol *tancr* cul, W. Llŷn in his *Geiriadur* has 'paeol : *tancer*' ; *Tren* 'Trent (the river)' in L. G. C., p. 244 O Vynwy drwy Wy i avon *Dren*. In the Mod. spoken language one hears *Balis* 'Baptist', *contrac* 'contract', *Methadus* 'Methodist'. In the early consonantal group *st*, the *t* is sometimes dropped as in *drws*, but *Llanrwest* from *Grwst* or *Gwrwst*.

78. — 6) Fate of *nt* in W. and Br.

In W. medially *nn* appears for earlier *nt*, but in final positions *nt* appears. The final group *nt*, however, is often reduced to *n* even in the M. W. period. In Br., on the other hand, *nt* appears throughout as a general rule, and the change to *nn* in medial and final positions is very rare. The following are a few exs. in which Br. coincides with W. in this respect :

M. Br. *cannat*¹ 'a messenger' W. *cennad* have been equated with Ir. *cel* ; *guenem*, *guenit* etc., personal forms from *gant* 'with' O. Br. *centet* (gl. *penes temet*), W. *gennynt*, *gennynt* etc.; Mod. Br. *gourvenn* W. *gorfynnt*, Ir. *format* ; M. Br. *nouenn* for *n-ouenn* from Lat *unguentum* ; in *L. Ch.* (M. Br. Chart.) we have *cen* by the side of *cent*, *cint*, O. Br. Chart. *cent*, *cen*, *kint*, *kin*.

Further, in the Mod. Br. dial. of Vann. (Sarzeau), a similar change takes place by a kind of assimilation. Traces of the same assimilation are found in the dial of Trég. See *R. C.* , 3, p. 47.

In M. W. there are traces of the loss of *t* in the 3 Pers Plur. of verbal forms and of the forms of the conjugated prepositions. Since the M. W. period *t* has dropped in *arian*, *cywrain* (but *cywraint*, in *Caniad Salomon* vii. 1), *dyffryn*, *plygain* (M. W. *pylgeint*), *lloergan* (M. W. *lloergant*), *tremyn* (M. W. *dremynt*), *ugain*. In *Lib. Land.* *nan* occurs for *nant*. The W. *namyn*² is probably for *namynt*, cf. Br. *nement*, *nemert*, *nemeit*, and W. *maint*, Br. *ment*. Cf. also *can*, *gan*, for *cant*, *gant*, and *cyn* 'before' preposition with *cynt* adjective and adverb.

79. — 7) Loss of final *l* and *r* after consonants.

a) In Br. :

1. Loss of *l* in *-ab* from Fr. *-able* in such words as *lenab*, *stagab*, *lachab*, see *R. C.*, 4, p. 145 ; *disquib* for *diskibl* in *R. C.*, 20, p. 66 Do *disquib* Ian ; *drask* *L. E. (H.)*, M. Br. *drasgl* ; *chazub*, Fr. *chasuble* in *R. C.*, 16, p. 128 eur *chazub* sulaouret 'une chasuble dorée' ; *capap* Fr. *capable* in *R. C.*, 25 p. 432 rag ren d-on quiet *capap* de dongen mineuoet 'car je ne suis pas capable de tenir l'alène' ; *epeñg* Fr. *épingle* in *R. C.*, 16, p. 231 (Ernault, *Sur l'argot de la Roche*) ; *horib* Fr. *horrible* *L. Ch. (V.)*. cf. M. Br. (E.) *cabus* by the side of *cablus* 'couppable' Mod. Br. *kabluz* ; Mod. Br. *goest* (adj.) and *goestl* (subs.) W. *gwystl*.

1. The improbability of this view has been shown in *Indg. Forsch.* 14 p. 131 (Thurneysen), where the Lat. *commeatus* is given as the more probable origin.

2. Cf., however, *Ped.* II, p. 261.

2. Loss of *r* in M. Br. (E). *eont* and *eontr*, Mod. Br. *eoñtr*, Vann. (Ch.) *iondre*, bas-vann. *yoñt*, W. *ewythr*, (for the Br. forms *iondr*, *yont* plur. *yontow* see R. C., 26, p. 85); *frenest*, *fenestr* and *penestr* Mod. Br. *prenestr* W. *ffenestr*, M. Br. has also *prenest*, *prenestr*; *lest* and *lestr* W. *llestr*; *ioent*, *ioentr* and *joendr* 'jointure'; *mest*, *mestr* and *maestr* 'maître'; *terrest* 'terrestre', cf. R. C., 10, p. 196, *er* Barados *terest*; Vann. *gobre*, Léon *gopr*, *gobr*, bas-vann. *gob* cf. *gop*, L. Ch. (*V.*); M. Br. *pourp* Fr. *pourpre* L. Ch. (*V.*); L. E. (*H.*) *rust* from Fr. *rustre*; *fiev* Fr. *fièvre*, *meg* Fr. *maigre* in R. C., 16, p. 231 (Ernault, *Sur l'Argot de la Roche*); *gwineg* Fr. *vinaigre*; *pot* for *potr* in R. C., 23, p. 290 o *quafan eun pot mad* 'je vous trouve un solide gaillard', but plur. *potret* in the same text; *poult* for *poultr* (Vann. *peudre*, bas-vann. *paot*) in R. C., 9, p. 206 *en poult* 'en poussière'; *cañb* for *cañbr* (M. Br. *cambr* Fr. *chambre*) in R. C., 15 p. 350 *pod ë gañb*; *ydolat* Fr. *idolâtre* in R. C., 25 p. 326 *ydolat miserabl* 'misérable idolâtre'; *iont* for *iontr* M. Br. *eontr* rhymes with *pront* in R. C., 23 p. 128.

b). In W. :

1. Loss of *l* in the spoken language in such forms as *dis-gib* (S. W.) for *disgybl*, *biddig* for *buddygl* 'spot', *mañwag* for *munwogl* 'neck', *perig* for *perygl* 'danger', *posib* for *posibl* 'possible', *Llangwnad* for *Llangwnadl*, a panish in Lleyn (Carnarvonshire).

2. Loss of *n* in *brawd* 'brother' for **brawd*r; *cebystr* (Lat. *capistrum*); *ewythr* generally in the spoken language for *ewythr* 'uncle'; *ffenest* for *ffenestr*; *trawst* for **trawstr* (Lat. *transtrum*); and in the colloquial language *arad* for *aradr* 'plough', *Dwalad* or *Cydwlad* for *Cadwaladr*; *palad* for *paladr* 'shaft' in such expressions as '*palad o ddyn*', cf. also *diath* for *dieithr* 'strange' as well as *diarth* by metathesis; in N. W. *vinag* and *vineg* for *vinegr* 'vinegar'.

80. — 8). Loss of final *n* end *r* afters vowels.

a). In Breton :

Léon *ama*, *amañ* 'here', Trég. *aman*, M. Br. *aman*; M. Br. (E.) *brema* and *brem* 'now', Léon *brema*, *bremañ* Trég. *bre-*

man ; M. Br. *pa*, *pan* 'when, since', Léon *pa*, Trég. *pa*, *pan* W. *pan* ; Mod. Br. *kala* and *kal* for M. Br. *qualan* from Lat. *calendae*, W. *calan* In bas-vann. the final *r* of such words as *breur* 'brother' W. *brawd*, and *leur* 'floor', W. *llawr*, is sometimes not pronounced at all. See R. C., 11, p. 209. Cf. the loss of *l* in Br. *morsé*, 'morceau' and *loré* 'laurier', both taken from early Fr. forms in *-l*, see L. E. (H.) s. v.

b) In W. *n* may have been lost in *yma*¹ 'here' M. W. *yma*n and *yma* ; M. W. *llyma* 'lo here ! here is' and *llyman*, cf. *dyma* of the same meaning ; M. W. *efelly*, *felly*, 'thus' composed of *efel-hyn* 'like this', as in M. Br. *evelhenn*, Mod. Br. (Léon) *evellen*, Trég. *evelhen*, cf. *evelse* 'like that'. In the colloquial language, especially of S. W., final *n* is frequently dropped after a vowel, in such words as the preposition *maen* 'in inside', *perso* for *person*, *cyfiaw* for *cyfiawen*, etc. In N. W. one hears *dala* poethion 'nettles for *dalan* for *danadl* for *danadl gwlala fedw* 'birch-rod' for *gwialen fedw*, *cyfa* for *cyfan* 'whole', *melin wynt* for *melin wynt* 'wind-mill'. In N. W. also the form *berw dwr* is found for *berwr dwr* (Ir. *birdr*, *bilor*, Br. *beler*). Cf. Nant *Ffranco(n)*, Dol *Bebi(n)*. Here may be mentioned the loss of *n* after a consonant in Br. *him* by the side of *himn* (Tr.) Fr. *hymne*, and W. *Lincol* 'Lincoln' in L. G. C. p. 45 Y neidr o Gaer *Lincol*.

81. — Metathesis in W. and Br. :

This takes place in W. and Br. as a rule when one of the consonants concerned is a liquid or a nasal. For the metathesis which took place in the case of initial *gul*, *gur* see § 23. Other exs. in W. and Br. are the following : —

a). In Br. :

balan by the side of *banal*, M. Br. *balazn*, W. *banadl*, *berma* by the side of *brema*, *bremañ*, M. Br. *bremam* ; M. Br. (E.) *courz* 'vulva' W. *croth*, *croth* ; *danfuez* and *danvez* by the side of *daffnez*, W. *defnydd* ; Mod. Br. *euflewn* for M. Br.

1. The forms *yma*, *yma*n ; *llyma*, *llyman* ; *cyfa*, *cyfan* may possibly present two distinct forms of the element *-ma(n)*.

eluenn, W. *elfen* from Lat. *clementum* ; M. Br. *fourmag* from Fr. *fromage* ; M. Br. *guezr* 'green' Mod. Br. *guer*, W. *gwyrdd* from Lat. *vir(i)dis* ; Mod. Br. *balan*, for *banal* M. Br. *alazn* W. *anadl* ; Vann. *menal*, Léon *malan* for M. Br. *malazn* 'a sheaf' ; Mod. Br. *pinvidik* 'rich' W. *pendefig* ; L. Ch. (V.) *perpet* by the side of *pepret*, *bepret*, M. Br. *pepret* ; Mod. Br. *clask* W. *casglu* 'to collect, gather' ; L. Ch. (V.) *mezellour* 'a mirror' is possibly for *emzellour* ; *pouffit* Fr. *profit* ; *pourmenaff* Fr. *promener*, (but in O. Fr. and in Mod. Fr. dial. the forms *po(u)ffit* and *pourmener* occur).

b) In W. :

albras, *albrys*, *albrast*, *albryst* from E. *arbalest*, *arbalist*, *arblast* ; *barlat* from E. *mallard* ; *nildws* 'a needleouse' (W. S.) but early E. as a form with *ld* also ; *plygain* for M. W. *pylgein* and *pylgeint* ; *colbio* (N. W.) from E. *cobble*.

In the spoken language of the W. dials. exs. are very numerous. M. W. has *dafrod* (*darfod*), *dafnon* (*danfon*), *dalan* for *danal* (*danadl*), *cyrhwyll* (*crybwyll*), *cenlys* (*cenllysg*), *digwiddil* (*digwilydd*), *gomrod* (*gormod*), *dydd Iau Drychafael*, and M. W. *Drychafael*'), *entrych* (*entrych*), *pygethu* (*prygethu*), *pyrnawn* (*prynhawn* = *prydnawn*), *ysbig* (*ysgub*), *skwan* (*llyswen*). S. W. has *clasgu* (*casglu*), *denfydd* (*defnydd*), *diofedd* (*diodde*), *giddil* (*gilydd*), *ffrylling* (*ffyrlling*, *ffyrling*), etc. cf. *oddigerth* for *oddieithr*, *diarth* (N. W.) for *dieithr* ; *tangneddyf* and *uddyf* found in some texts for *tangnedfedd* and *ufudd* ; M. W. *cysact* E. *exact*, *cysam* E. *exam.*, *mygêj* E. *engaged*, *mydroi* for *ymdroi*, *swigan* for *chwysigen*, *sielf* E. *shovel*, *cwrcwd* for *crwcd* E. *crooked*.

82. — Some exceptional cases of mutation in Br. which agree with W.

a). Aspirate Mutation.

We have already seen above (§ 24) how Br. like Mod. W., besides adding an initial *b* after the possessive pronoun feminine sing. to words beginning with a vowel, developed also

1. See Ped. I, p. 334, II, p. 300.

under similar conditions an *h*-sound in the case of initial *m* (in Br.), *n*, *m*, *w* (in W.), where ordinarily and according to the fixed grammatical rules no such change would be expected to appear. This peculiarity of Br. seems to appear only in the dial. of Faouet (Haute-Cornouailles) for which see *R. C.*, 17, p. 421, and in W. mainly in the N. W. dial.

b). Nasal Mutation.

Neither Br. nor Cornish has a regular system of mutation corresponding to the W. so-called Nasal Mutation. Occasional cases of the same type, however, do occur in Br. (and once, at least, in Cornish in *yn nor* from *dor*). These changes in Br. are probably of a later date than those in the W. Nasal Mutation. The form *nor* is, however, probably old, as it is regarded as an old neuter.

1). Dental.

The following exs. of $-n\ d > n$ are given in Ped. § 272 : M. Br. *an nou* 'the two, both' ; *en noar* 'in the earth' W. *yn naear* ; *an or* for *an nor* 'the door' ; *crochen an niuquell* from *diuquell*, W. *dey gaill* ; *en ba parres* in thy parish ; Mod. Br. (Vann.) *en eu*, *en iñ* 'the two, both (masc. and fem.)', *en erien* 'the oak-tree'. To these several other exs. may be added, M. Br. (E.) *hac a claf quen scaff han affuat* 'et tombant malades aussi vite qu'une brebis' with *affuat* for *naffuat* from *daffuat*, W. *dafad* ; *an noulagat* 'the two eyes' from *doulagat* W. *dau lygad* ; in the Vann. dial. of Sarzeau *un avadienn* for *un navadienn* 'a sheep' from *davadienn*, see *R. C.*, 3, p. 47, where there are also mentioned *men Dui* 'my God' and *mem brer* 'my brother', W. *fy Nuw*, *fy mrawd*, and the Trég. conjugation of the verb *en dout* in the 3 and 1 Pers. *en eus*, *an eveus*, *en oa* etc. (see Le Clerc § 96) ; *un nerwenn* from *derwenn* W. *derwen*. Vann. has also *ün namezel* from *damezel* Fr. *demoiselle* ; *penn-na-benn* for *penn da benn*, and *dinnann* for *dindann*. In *R. C.*, 7, p. 192 *d'en niaz* 'en bas' with *niaz* from *diaz*. cf. *unnek* for *un-dek* 'eleven'.

According to M. Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 32, Trég. has *nén* by the side of *an dén*, W. *y dyn* ; see also Le Clerc p. 134.

In the dial. of Cornouaille there occurs such a form as *pen vññ nññ* 'quand on est' (*R. C.*, 3, p. 235).

2). Labial.

A trace of this is possibly in *mem breur* 'my brother' W. *fy mrawd*, cited above (1). Cf. Trég. *am mo*, *am mefe* etc. for *am bo*, *am befe*, Le Clerc pp. 73, 74.

3. Guttural.

L. Ch. (V.) inn gorto 'en attente', with the final *n* of *inn* and the *g* of *gorto* forming a guttural nasal. The common form of the preposition is *en* or *e*.

In a text in *R. C.*, 7, p. 79 there occurs the sentence *meng gourhiemenow e gassebet*, with *meng gourhiemenow* corresponding to the W. *fy nghorchymynion* for *fyn gorchymynion*.

83. — Palatalisation of Consonants in W. and Br.

a). In Br. :

M. Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 4, refers to the palatalisation of *k* and *g* in the dial. of Trég. : 'Ce dialecte peut donner à *k*, *g*, avant *e* et avant ou après *i* une nuance palatale (à peu près comme dans le français *il acquiert*, *Tréguier*) : *k'ik'* ou *qiq* viande, s'écrit plus simplement *kik*; etc.'

Further, in the dial. of Vann. *k*, *ch* (before palatal vowels) and *s* (before *t*) have a palatalised articulation, e. g. *kjemeret* (*kemeret*, W. *cym(e)ryd*), *merhielt* (W. *merched*), *er hiemenér* (Léon *ar c'hemener* 'the tailor', which would correspond to a W. *y cymynwr*). See *R. C.*, 3, p. 178.

In the Vann. dial. of Quiberon, in addition to the fact that most consonants are palatalised before 'narrow' vowels, there is also a palatalisation of *n* and *r*, e. g. *moarieb* (Léon *moereb*), *cariég* (Léon *carreg* or *karrek*), *Gwiniet* (W. *Gwynedd*) In Vann. also *sk* before *e*, *i*, *ü* becomes *ch*, as in *chugiall* = *scudell*. See *R. C.*, 16, p. 323. In Br. *s* before a narrow vowel has become an *sh* sound in *chetu* for *setu* 'behold'. The dentals *d*, *t* have become *ch*, *j*, before the plural ending *ion*, as in *beñchou* plur. of *hent* (W. *hyni*), *oajou* plur. of *oad* (W. *oed*). See Ernault, *Petite Grammaire Bretonne*, p. 17, and

Le Clerc, p. 37. Cf. also Trég. *davancheb* 'devantier' and in *L. Ch. aparchiant* 'appartient', *mecher* 'métier'.

b). In W.

W. seems to have developed the practice of palatalisation even to a further degree than Br. It occurs before other than palatal vowels, and, generally speaking, appears in all parts of Wales in some position or other.

Among the older inhabitants of North Wales at the present day it is customary to palatalise *c* and *g* even before a non-palatal vowel, especially before *a*, e. g. *iachglan* (*iach-glan*), *cad* (*cad*), *caw* (*cad*), *cath* (*cath*), *cartia* (*cartref*), *giad* (*gafael*), *gurd* (F. *gourd*), *Morglan* (*Morgan*). In Merionethshire, where *a* is pronounced as an open *e*, forms like *ciath* (*cath*), *ciäs* (*cäs*) are very common. Before a palatal vowel we have N. W. *ciadl* (*ciadl*), *ciadyl* (*ciadyl*), *ciad* (plur. of F. *ciad*), *ciadl* (*ciadl*), *ciadl* (*ciadl*). In parts of Mid-Wales *c* and *g* tend to become palatalised before *a* as in *bachu* (*bachu*), *tiad* (*tad*). In S. W. a palatalised *d* has become *dsh* or *dj*, or even *tsb*, *citsio* for *citsio* (*cydio*), *sgidje*, or *sgitshe* (*esgidiau*), cf. *jael* for *diawl*.

In Mid-Wales too *c*, *g*, *d*, *s*, are also palatalised even before *i*, e. g. *tiage* (*tiage*), *tiad* (*tiad*) etc.; cf. M. W. *crinos* (*crinos*) *crinos* (*crinos*), M. W. *crinos*, S. W. *crinos*, *crinos* (*crinos*).

dd, *dd*, *g*, *g* are often palatalised in M. W., e. g. *iachdyl* (*iachdyl*), *ciadyl* (*ciadyl*), *ciadyl* (*ciadyl*), *ciadyl* (*ciadyl*) (with *ciadyl* from *ciadl* for *cael*), *iachiau* (*iachau*).

In S. W. *s* becomes *sh* before a consonant, e. g. *isid* (*isid*), *gwisge* (*gwisge*), *disgwl* (*disgwl*) *disgwl* (*disgwl*); and also before *i* in *shai* (cf. N. W. *sai* or *sai*). The S. W. *sha* and *shag* for *tua*, *tuag* may have arisen from S. W. forms with *i* for N. W. *u*, *tia* and *tiag* thus giving *sha*, *shag*, cf. *shout* for *tu bent*. In M. W. one hears *besbantisho* for *be' sy' arnat ei disiau*, and *besbanti* for *be' sy' arnat ti*. Cf. N. W. *sio-sar* from E. *saucer*. In some E. loanwords in W. *c* and *g* are palatalised. The palatalisation, now antiquated, was common in E. itself at one period, and the W. forms may be due to

this ; W. *giard* (E. *guard*), *giaffar* (E. dial. *gaffer*), *giami* (E. dial. *gammy*), *giamocs* (E. dial. *gammocks*), *Margiad* (E. *Margaret*), *minciag* (E. *mint-cake*).

Ellis, *E. E. P.*, p. 230, refers to this palatalisation in E. : '*k* was *k* before all vowels, perhaps inclined to the palatalised *k* before the sound of *ü* and in the 18 th. c. frequently became *k* (palatalised) before *a* (æ, aa) and long *i* (ei)'. Further on p. 263 : 'It would be interesting to know when the English began to introduce an *i*-sound between *k*, *g* and *a*-sound. There is no trace of it in the orthoepists, but these are traces of it in a very early stage of our language'.

ERRATUM

On p. 105, l. 14, read *arllwys*, *petris*.

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